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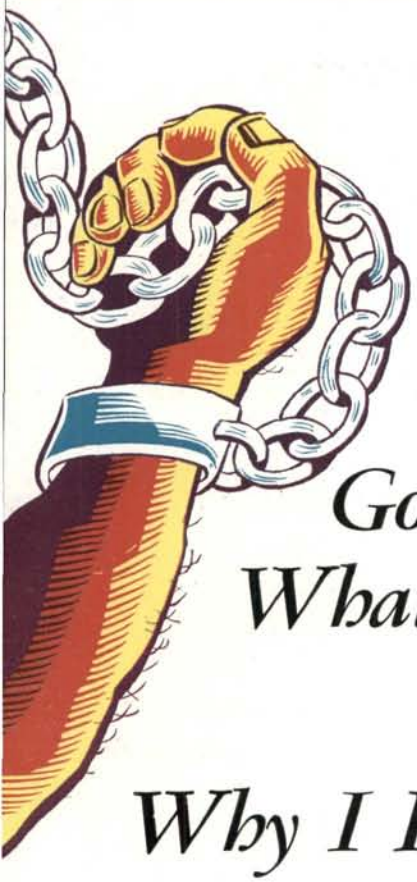
AUGUST 13, 1963

# NATIONAL REVIEW

*A Journal of Fact and Opinion*



## *The Cuban Prisoners Castro Did Not Free*

WILLIAM F. RICKENBACKER

## *Goldwater's YR Victory: What Really Happened in Frisco*

M. STANTON EVANS

## *Why I Hate 'Tender Loving Care'*

TAYLOR CALDWELL

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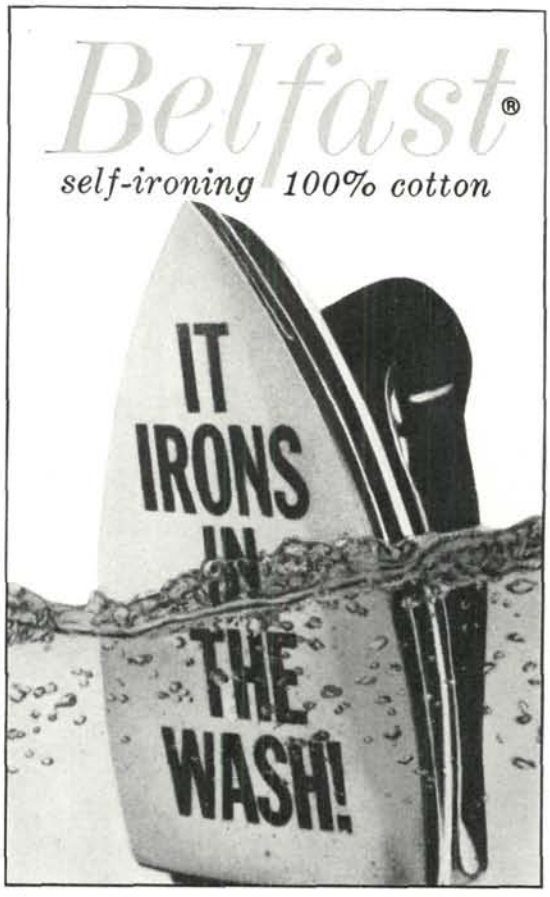


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# NATIONAL REVIEW

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EDITOR: Wm. F. Buckley Jr.
PUBLISHER: William A. Rusher

EDITORS

James Burnham, Willmoore Kendall,
Frank S. Meyer, William F. Rickenbacker
MANAGING EDITOR: Priscilla L. Buckley
PRODUCTION: Martha Butler, Arlene Croce
ASSISTANT PUBLISHER: J. P. McFadden

ASSOCIATES

Frank Chodorov, D. G. M. Coxe,
Morrie Ryskind, Timothy J. Wheeler

CONTRIBUTORS

C. D. Batchelor, Colm Brogan, John Chamberlain,
John Abbot Clark, Peter Crumpet, Guy Davenport, A. Derso,
Joan Didion, M. Stanton Evans, Finis Farr, David Franke,
J. D. Futch, Aloise B. Heath, Will Herberg, Hugh Kenner,
James Jackson Kilpatrick, John D. Kreuttner,
Suzanne La Follette, Sir Arnold Lunn, J. B. Matthews,
Vincent Miller, Thomas Molnar, Gerhart Niemeyer,
Kenneth Shorey, Ralph de Toledano,
W. H. von Dreele, Frederick D. Wilhelmsen,
Garry Wills

FOREIGN CONTRIBUTORS

*London*: Anthony Lejeune
*Munich*: E. v. Kuehnelt-Leddihn

ART DIRECTOR: James W. O'Bryan
CIRCULATION MANAGER: Robert J. White
PROMOTION MANAGER: Patrick J. Gorman
ADVERTISING MANAGER: Michael M. Mooney


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NATIONAL REVIEW is published weekly by National Review, Inc., at 163 Pratt St., Meriden, Conn. (second class postage paid at Meriden, Conn.).


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All manuscripts, letters, subscription orders, changes of address and undeliverable copies should be sent to:

**EDITORIAL AND CIRCULATION OFFICES**
**National Review**
**150 East 35th St., New York 16, N.Y.**
**Telephone ORegon 9-7330**

RATES: $16.00 a year ($9.00 for the 36-page issues, and $7.00 for the 8-page issues published on the alternate weeks). In all cases, add $1.00 for Canada, $2.00 for other foreign subscriptions.

The editors cannot be responsible for unsolicited manuscripts unless return postage, or better, a stamped self-addressed envelope is enclosed. Opinions expressed in signed articles do not necessarily represent the views of the editors.


## *In This Issue . . .*

→ You will learn how right Nelson Rockefeller was when he denounced "the ruthless intimidation and tactics of totalitarianism" by "well-financed" groups at the San Francisco convention of the Young Republicans. There was only one point on which Rocky's facts were a little twisted: the identity of the well-financed crowd that was trying to do the intimidating. **M. Stanton Evans,** editor of the *Indianapolis News,* who was on hand representing his paper, gives chapter and verse and footnote for who did what where and when. . . . *NR* editor **Wm. F. Rickenbacker,** in the form of the story of "Roberto," brings to public scrutiny an unknown, melancholy and most shocking aftermath of that low point in our nation's history, the Bay of Pigs invasion. . . . If you have wondered what gives you that queasy feeling lately and leaves you limp and sagging halfway through the day, it is probably an overdose of T.L.C., **Taylor Caldwell** suggests in her usual tender, loving way. Miss Caldwell, as you know, is a woman proud to call herself conservative, and a novelist who, apparently, is incapable of writing a book that doesn't become a national bestseller.

→ The Supreme Court's prayer decisions are again the concern of **Will Herberg,** who in this issue gives his calm and precise analysis of *Schempp* and *Murray.* We commend it to the attention of their ninefold majesty, the Supreme Court bench. . . . Both Messrs. **Meyer** and **Burnham** have a go at Averell (Laos) Harriman's latest contribution to Peace in Our Time. Weighing the test ban on their dialectical balance, they find it sadly wanting. . . . The presumptive decline in the President's popularity is the sympathetic theme for **Wm. F. Buckley Jr.'s** meditations. . . . **Russell Kirk** once more laments the spread of mediocrity through our school system. . . . And **Erik von Kuehnelt-Leddihn** tells us just who the Count of Paris is, what he has done, and why many people in Europe think he may be de Gaulle's successor.

→ The Book Section begins with all the right questions about Cleanth Brooks' new book of literary criticism asked and answered by that prince of critics, Professor **Hugh Kenner.** . . . Sir **Shane Leslie,** in the guise of a review of a large new biography, follows with a packed and personal essay on the remarkable and all-faceted Englishman, Lord Rosebery, who was everything, had everything and did everything, but ended a wailing failure. . . . Margret Boveri's *Treason in the Twentieth Century,* a subject as current as this week's headlines, is discussed by **Nathaniel Weyl,** who finds Mrs. Boveri's analysis, in spite of some preliminary cant, eminently rewarding. . . . **Reginald Lang**—a writer new to *NR*'s pages, Professor of Political Science at Minnesota's Carleton College—finds Bernard Crick's *In Defense of Politics* "discerning and incisive" in its treatment of politics as "a great and civilizing human activity" (N. B. JFK, NR, BG). . . . And **Francis Russell** has lots of fun with, yes, *Cleopatra.* →


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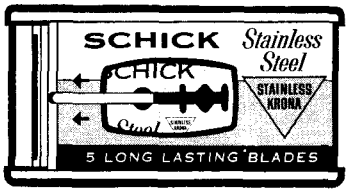


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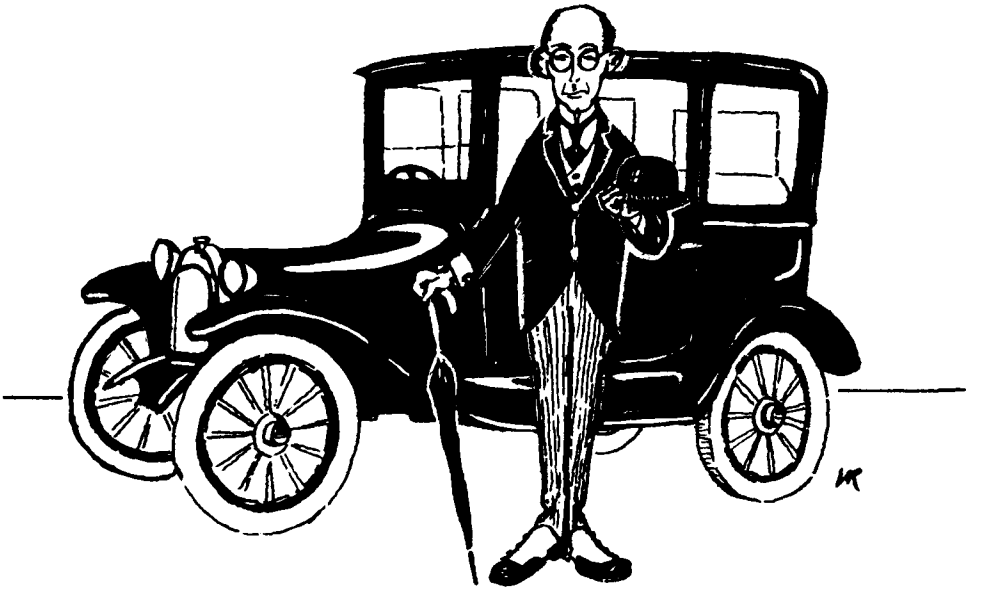

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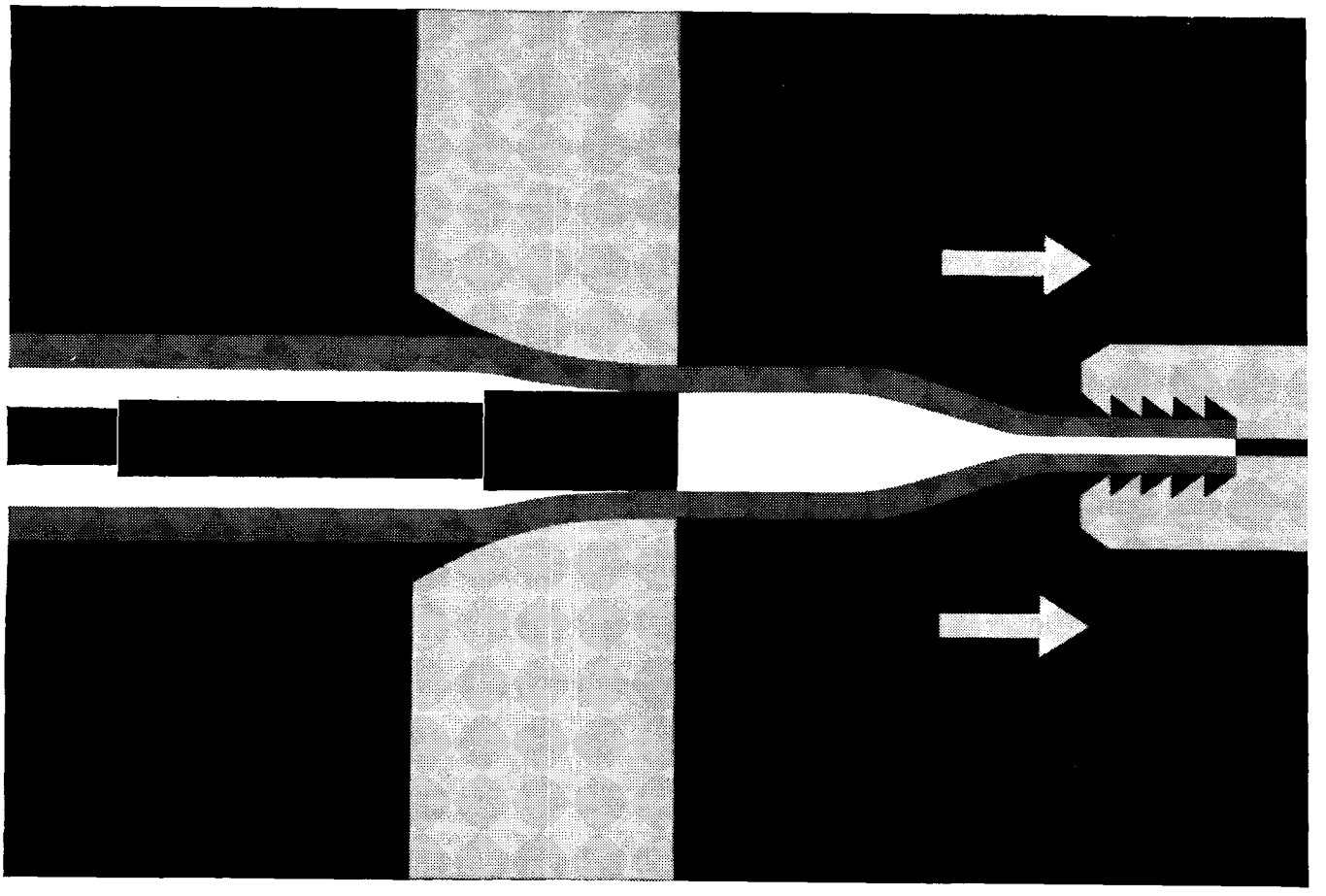

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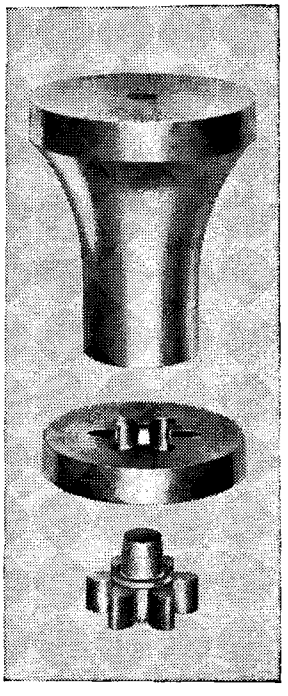

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# The WEEK

● President Aden Abdullah Osman of Somalia, you'll be relieved to hear, has announced that his government, after due consideration, has decided to refrain from nuclear testing in the atmosphere in accordance with the Soviet-American test-ban treaty.

● Plans are under way to blow up the world this fall, but it's all good clean fun. A Hollywood movie is to be made from the anti-war tract, *Level 7*, a horror story about men living underground in missile bases going mad. The screenplay was written by Millard Lampell, says the *New York Times*, which lists his other achievements, including *Saturday's Hero* and *Chance Meeting*. The *Times* does not mention that Lampell was identified under oath by two witnesses before the House Committee on Un-American Activities in 1953 as a Communist, or that he took the Fifth in 1952 before the Internal Security Subcommittee.

● Largely as a result of determined protests by conservatives throughout the land, the following companies have announced that they will not, in the future, carry goods made in Communist countries: F. W. Woolworth, S. S. Kresge, Sears Roebuck, Walgreen, Miles Kimball, Swift, Kroger, A & P, and W. T. Grant. In addition, many towns and cities have passed discriminatory ordinances authorizing special taxes and requiring purchase of special licenses to deal in Communist manufactures. The result? The Yugoslav ambassador, for one, has reported a loss in commercial exports to the U.S. this year of between two and three million dollars.

● Republicans in Pennsylvania's Fifteenth District, seeking the congressional seat left vacant by the death of Rep. Francis Walter, had hoped despite a 30,000-vote Democratic advantage in the district, to equal the GOP successes in two other special elections this year (both in heavily Democratic districts). But Democrat Fred Rooney, heavily supported by the Kennedys as well as the local machine, managed to win by 6,500 votes out of the 90,000 cast. The most disappointed Republicans are the backers of the still muted drive to make Governor Scranton into the Presidential candidate next year. The Governor had fought hard for Rooney's opponent, Robert Bartlett; and a win against the existing odds would have given him a blue ribbon in the event.

● The UN Economic and Social Council, in a resolution co-sponsored by the United States, has suspended South Africa for its policy of racial segregation. The Soviet Union, whose concentration camps have been certified as integrated, remains a member.

● Chastised by the U.S. District Court in Washington for not using firemen on all runs and for failing to hire new firemen to replace those retired, the Southern Railway atoned faithfully for the latter oversight by hiring one hundred elderly, unskilled, and unemployed Negroes at the standard union salary of $20 to $25 a day. "Since firemen have no duties at all to perform and no skills, training, physical standards or education are required," the Southern explained, "it seemed reasonable to employ unskilled elderly people who are having a hard time finding jobs." The Southern sent along one railway supervisor for the first run of each new operative "to show the new firemen where to sit and the location of the comfort station in the locomotive—not to train or teach him anything, for there is nothing for him to learn." Firemen's union head H. E. Gilbert, inexplicably, was unsympathetic toward the railway's job-increasing hiring policy. He accused the Southern of "a spiteful disrespect of the court order."

● Music's charms aren't soothing the savage breast in Burundi these days. The leader of the opposition had the body of the Premier's grandfather dug up, and its nerve fibers removed. He strung them into a lyre, which he plays during parliamentary debates, infuriating the government. Suggested repertoire for this Black Orpheus: *I'll String Along With You*, *Scatterbrain*, and *Zing! Went the Strings of My Heart*.

● Senator Milward Simpson (R., Wyo.) reviewed the evidence last week and asked the Senate for a bill of indictment against the Administration for criminal misappropriation of federal funds. Although it is a crime to use government money in an attempt to influence a congressman's vote on any legislation, Faretheewealth Secretary Celebrezze splurged $3,500 sending telegrams to all congressmen, begging for federal aid to education. It is also forbidden to use federal funds "for publicity or propaganda purposes not authorized by Congress," but Orville Freeman campaigned extensively and expensively for a Yes vote in the wheat referendum, even sending letters to radio stations threatening revocation of their licenses if they failed to broadcast Administration material. HEW printed thousands of copies of a costly 159-page pro-Medicare book, and hired lobbyists who still corner old people in hospitals and tell them about the good times ahead if state medicine for the aged is approved. The Justice Department has been notified about these and other violations, but Senator Simpson, in one of the year's driest understatements, observed that "the political activities of the Department



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of Justice do not always permit the equal and fair enforcement of the law."

● Federal Aid to Pacifism is the primary mission of the Jack-built Arms Control and Disarmament Agency of the State Department. This year it wants its appropriation more than doubled (and will get what it asks)—to study pacifist groups and their influence on the public and on the government, because, well, *it* wants to influence the public and government as effectively as possible with its tax-dollar income. And the only way to do this is to get more tax dollars, and to take care of your friends. The smell of money has drawn in every pacifist for miles around. Congress should ban the balm.

● Can anyone tell us how the UN decides what wars and threats of wars are suitable items for its agenda? The UN gets into a terrific sweat about wars in the Gaza Strip, Katanga, Angola and outer space. But darned if any UNer can notice those 28,000 Egyptian troops, with plenty of tanks and planes, fighting month after month to shore up a leftist revolution in Yemen that couldn't have stood two weeks on its own feet; or the Soviet military technicians now building themselves a full-length jet runway on Yemeni territory to give the Soviet planes a staging point on the way to Africa and Cuba; or those Kurds and Iraqi government forces who are slaughtering each other vigorously in northern Iraq. It doesn't seem fair that some wars don't rate even a single UN resolution.

● The Atoms for Peace prize goes this year to an American scientist, Edwin McMillan, and a Russian, Vladimir Veksler, for the idea of "phase stability" in atom smashers, which idea occurred to them almost simultaneously, while they were a world apart, in 1943. Good atomic ideas had a way of traveling fast, back in the forties, especially from West to East.

● The newly formed Independent Bar Association has decided to publish a journal, *Law Today,* for the explication of its view that "in a free country the law should protect a citizen's life, liberty and property. The supposition that the Constitution and the law should constantly be changed to accommodate the opinions or appetites of transient majorities is one which denies that the Constitution or law has any more value than the court or marshal who enforces it." *Law Today* devotes its first issue to the question of U.S. sovereignty and the Connally Reservation (which prohibits World Court adjudication of "disputes with regard to matters which are essentially within the domestic jurisdiction of the United States *as determined by the United States*"). The Independent Bar Association, pledging its willingness to cooperate with all existing bar associations, invites all lawyers to join whether or not they share its opinions. Those interested can contact the IBA at 550 Fifth Avenue, New York 36, N.Y.

## *He Who Says No*

One of our readers, who is professionally concerned with Western military strategy and foreign policy, told us a month or so ago: "I find myself in agreement with most of *NR*'s views on international affairs, but I think you should re-examine your attitude toward de Gaulle. It is true that France's withdrawal from North Africa was a disaster for the West, and perhaps an avoidable disaster; but that is done and cannot be re-done. It is quite possibly true that de Gaulle's long-term perspective of a 'Third Force' France aloof from the Anglo-Saxons, and reigning culturally over a 'Europe united from the Atlantic to the Urals' is a mortally dangerous mirage. But however much we must condemn de Gaulle for the Algerian past and the possible European future, he is *at present* the one and only serious obstacle to a headlong Western rush into appeasement. It was de Gaulle alone—and this I can assert on my own direct knowledge—who last year blocked abject capitulation on Berlin by Kennedy and Macmillan. And it is primarily de Gaulle who is preventing a general deal with the Kremlin that would make Munich look like Thermopylae."

He had a point, we felt at the time; and we felt this more strongly when we read the transcript of the July 29 press conference—if so banal a term can be used for one of de Gaulle's virtuoso performances ("the absolute weapon of the Fifth Republic," they call them in France). He stood unmoved in the midst of one more world hurricane of demagogy about Peace in Our Time. He said some foolish things in his elegant rhetoric, and some self-contradictory things. But he stated the critical truths: "The world position has not been changed in any way. . . . The Free World is faced with the Soviet bloc, which is capable of submerging this or that territory. . . . It remains true that the Soviet bloc is holding fast to its totalitarian and menacing ideology. It has shown, by the scandal of the Berlin Wall and the introduction of nuclear weapons into Cuba, how precarious peace remains through its own acts."

Then without hems or haws he declared his manly *No.* "France will not be diverted by the Moscow agreements from equipping herself with the means of immeasurable destruction possessed by the other powers. . . . France would not subscribe to some arrangement that would be carried out above her head and which would concern Europe and notably Germany. . . . As for the proposal of a non-aggression pact, which we are told was talked about in Moscow,



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between the states belonging to NATO and the leaders of the countries subject to the yoke of the Kremlin, I must say at once that France does not like this assimilation between the Atlantic alliance and Communist servitude."

The test-ban treaty will go into effect when formally ratified by the three initially contracting parties. Ratification by the Supreme Soviet and the British Parliament will be automatic. The decision therefore devolves on the U.S. Senate, before which the President has placed the treaty, as is his constitutional duty, for advice and consent. We do not suggest that the fate of the world depends, one way or another, on what happens to this document. It is infinitely less important than its Western negotiators want to believe; nor—because of the exemption of underground tests and the unusual 90-day escape clause—is it so pernicious as some anti-Communists have feared. But it is bad enough to do considerable damage, if it is ratified, before it crumbles before the relentless realities of the world struggle. We do not minimize the President's skill in maneuvering the members of the Senate into a political dilemma: they either go along and thus help build up Mr. Kennedy as the Giver of Peace, or they dissent and are branded as "warmongers." We shall nevertheless hope that a sufficient number of senators—a third of those voting plus one, we mean—will in this instance believe, with Charles de Gaulle, that their duty is to tell the hard truths and to say their *No*.

### *The Doodlebug*

*Interspersed throughout the Constitution and its Amendments—written in between the lines if you will—are the basic moral principles of democratic justice by which we all try to live.*

Attorney General Robert Kennedy

Dear Bobby:
Though you've got a yen
To doodle with your fountain pen,
I wonder if you've ever thought
What careless doodling has wrought?
When Volstead doodled over booze,
He merely legislated blues;
The legal cupboard's still ajar
From doodles done by FDR.
(For doodling for doodles' sake,
Chief Justice Warren takes the cake.)
The thing I'm trying to convey
Is: Put that fountain pen away!
Impulsive doodles make me ill.
Please stop doodling.
Sincerely,
Bill

W. H. VON DREELE

## *The Happy Scandalmonger*

Nelson Rockefeller's salvo at the Far Right was triggered by the defeat of Charles McDevitt at the San Francisco convention of the Young Republicans by Goldwater-supporter Donald ("Buz") Lukens. "Every objective observer at San Francisco," Rockefeller wailed, "has reported that the proceedings there were dominated by extremist groups, carefully organized, well-financed, and operating through the tactics of ruthless, roughshod intimidation." M. Stanton Evans' article [p. 97] describes the rough stuff that went on at the Convention, and proves that it was Rockefeller's own allies who were the guilty parties.

1. The "well-financed" charge bears examination, not only for the piquancy of the phrase on a Rockefeller tongue, but because Liberal demonology always invokes right-wing subverters with fat bankrolls. Kent Kaiser of San Francisco was co-chairman of the Hospitality Committee for the Convention, and thus speaks with authority.

"One of the great items of discussion prior to the



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Convention," he says, "was a letter from Winthrop Rockefeller, stating that his personal secretary, or aide, a Mr. Edward Ham, I believe, would be accompanying the Arkansas delegation, and that he be given carte blanche credit at the hotel, etc. . . . The Arkansas delegation was very active in the campaign for Chuck McDevitt, and was the first state to declare for him. . . .

"I have searched the Convention files for the letter from Winthrop Rockefeller, and much to my dismay all information regarding the Arkansas delegation is missing. In view of the fact that files from all the other states contain personal correspondence, requests for reservations, etc., it would appear that somebody has removed the Arkansas file for one reason or another.

"It was clearly evident that McDevitt's campaign—from the pocket combs, to balloons, to huge amounts of liquor—completely overshadowed anything Buz Lukens had to offer. Besides McDevitt headquarters, the most popular place for free liquor was the New York delegation headquarters. . . ."

2. The outgoing YR Chairman, Leonard Nadasdy, gave a press interview in which he accused Lukens' followers of using "the old Communist technique of causing a lot of dissension." He also alleged that members of the John Birch Society were "at the center of the confusion," and specifically identified Illinois and Iowa as two states with numerous Birchers in their delegations.

While Nadasdy's charges were being trumpeted by sour Liberals across the country, every member of the Illinois and Iowa delegations executed an affidavit swearing that he (or she) is not now and never has been a member of the John Birch Society.

### *'A Great Achievement For Peace'*

"Since a [test-ban] treaty is what the Russians want, it wouldn't be difficult to come up with one which would look good on the surface. We could include in it all the fuzzy language of diplomacy—and believe me, I know some of the phrases—and present it to the world as a great achievement for peace. All of this would result in a relaxation of world tensions, generate a feeling of international goodwill, and probably elect a Republican President in 1960.

"But we're not going to do it. If we signed such a pact with the Soviets, there would develop a tremendous pressure to cut back on our defenses, reduce the size of our armed forces, and curtail our armaments. And we'd have only the word of the Russians that they were doing the same. Our NATO, SEATO, and other alliances would be endangered, perhaps to the point of deterioration. As a result, within a few years, we could be as a sitting duck for the Communists to pick off whenever they felt the time was ripe."

John Foster Dulles, winter 1959

## *Topsy-Turvy Land*

The world of the UN has always seemed one of those places you find on the other side of the Looking Glass, and we think we have located Humpty Dumpty. At any rate, it is hard to imagine more Humpty Dumpty-ish reasoning than that put forward by Alex Quaison-Sackey, delegate from Ghana, during the Security Council debate on the Portuguese provinces in Africa.

"The very fact that certain African countries [Ghana prominent among them] are behind the nationalists [*i.e.*, the Angolan revolutionaries] fighting for their independence means a threat to international peace and security," remarked Mr. Quaison-Sackey. Therefore it becomes the duty of the UN, under its Charter, to remove the "threat to peace"—Portugal's continued presence in Angola and Mozambique, where she has been for 500 years—by compelling Portugal to arrange at once "the transfer of power to Africans." Otherwise, there is going to be war.

Think that one over. I tell you that if you don't give up your house, I am going to join with others



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# Focus on '64

◆ The kind of support Barry Goldwater has determines the instruments available to him. The Dewey-Brownell operation worked through state governors; Senator Taft found his organizational support in the Senate; Goldwater's strength flows up so naturally from the grass roots that it moves directly into the House of Representatives, where home-town sentiment gets its readiest voice. In district after district, it is clear that Goldwater would be the strongest GOP candidate: so clear, in fact, that the Senator has had to make no effort to secure what is now working for him—an informal team of congressmen who serve as eyes and ears in the field, and who are the essential nucleus of a formal political structure. Political historians may note that the conservative politics of Senator Goldwater may lead to his finding his greatest support for the nomination in the branch of the legislature where Presidential nominations were made in the early decades of the Federal Republic, before national party conventions came into existence.

◆ But anyone who thinks Goldwater has it made, or who thinks Nelson Rockefeller will dry up and blow away, is blowing bubbles. Rockefeller's bumptious maneuvering of the Governors Conference into a national platform for his own publicity campaign shows the energy he's willing to pour into his candidacy, and his inner-sanctum solicitation of support among the business barons at the Bohemian Grove encampment in California illustrates the kind of support he can appeal to among the most powerful men in and about the Establishment. Personal wealth, high office, and intricate connections with the sources of industrial power are at Rockefeller's command. Given his willingness to use these to the limit, he remains, despite the sick showing of some recent popularity polls, an opponent worthy of respect.

◆ About those polls, now. Gallup, at the time of the Governors Conference, found that Goldwater got the highest rating as a candidate against Kennedy: 34 per cent would vote for Barry; asked about Romney, 33 per cent gave him the nod; Rocky brought up the rear with 30 per cent. Reporters who surveyed the governors assembled in Miami Beach couldn't find even one who thought Romney would get the nomination. The *New York Times* ran its men around the Western states and found 1) not one Republican governor working for Rockefeller, unless you figure Mark Hatfield of Oregon works out of Albany, and 2) "in state after state, the Arizona Senator was judged the favorite of party workers." And the *Washington Post* published a Lou Harris poll that showed 48 per cent of all Republicans consider themselves conservatives, only 15 per cent describe themselves "liberals."

◆ The holding action, that of putting favorite sons up front till the smoke clears, started with a boomlet for Scranton that modulated into a boomlet for Romney and seems to have returned now to the Scranton sector. What isn't very well known is that Scranton is an intimate friend of Barry Goldwater, and not least because he has long served under a certain AF Major General from Arizona in the same Reserve squadron.

◆ The dignified moderation of Goldwater's views in general can be inferred from the indecent extremes touched by his critics, among whom there is Nelson Rockefeller who would smirch him with the title of segregationist, and Mississippi's Governor Barnett who, asked whether he'd support Goldwater against Kennedy, said he never supports an "integrationist." Actually, in Mississippi (led by Governor Barnett and State Democratic Chairman Bidwell Adam) there's a serious move to form an unpledged electoral delegation; and next door in Alabama the idea of unpledged electors appeals to Governor Wallace, who says he sees "no hope" for the South in any of the current GOP front-runners. If the move for a third slate of unpledged electors gains force throughout the South, Kennedy may win certain states such as North Carolina and Georgia where he retains a considerable following even today.

◆ The 1964 elections got a queer going over in Havana, where Fidel Castro delivered himself of a prophecy on his return from Moscow. Said Fidel: the glorious victory of Communism in Cuba has proven the inadequacy and impotence of the Kennedy Administration, and the consequent loss of JFK's "prestige" makes it much more likely that Communism will prosper in Cuba than that Kennedy will be re-elected in 1964. Kennedy, too, has his problems. He has to hang onto the "peace" banner Harriman brought back from Moscow, without letting the American people see that the price of such doodads is U.S. toleration of Communist advances here, there, and just about anywhere, at Moscow's pleasure.

◆ In all the recent turmoil, as exemplified by Rockefeller's attack, Senator Goldwater has demonstrated how his innate sense of justice and proportion translates into a highly attractive political substance. Challenged by the rasping jibes of Governor Rockefeller, Goldwater merely said he wouldn't reply because he wasn't in business to divide the Republican Party. Asked what he thought about the test-ban treaty within minutes after Harriman hit Washington, Goldwater said he'd have to take a look at it before he talked about it. Already a few voices are being heard saying Goldwater is going down the hoary path of political temporizing, cynical ambiguities, wishy-washy evasions. Conservatives should be the first to remember, as the centennial of the last full year of the Civil War approaches, that principles not conversant with reality are the stuff of strife and bloodshed, and that Goldwater is an accomplished politician who is also a man of abiding faith. Both qualities are necessary in anyone who would lead a successful conservative coalition.



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to take it over by force and throw you out. Therefore *you* are threatening peace and security.

N. B.: Jomo Kenyatta's all-African government in Kenya, closely associated with Ghana in the UN moves against Portugal, announced last week that Kenya will abolish trial by jury as "a discriminatory practice." Justice Minister Tom Mboya explained that in order to have effective trial by jury, you must be able to find "reasonable jurymen who would understand what was going on."

## *Asylum, Too, Is a Human Right*

Secretary of State Rusk will shortly decide whether this country will extradite Pérez Jiménez for alleged crimes committed during his dictatorship in Venezuela. The *New York Times* reports that the decision will probably be made to extradite him because "the Kennedy Administration strongly supports the Liberal Venezuelan regime of President Rómulo Betancourt."

There can be no question that Betancourt's desire to get Jiménez is politically motivated. Jiménez overthrew Betancourt's earlier government in 1948 and was himself overthrown by Betancourt in 1954.

Four years ago Betancourt charged Jiménez with participation in a group of murders and with the embezzlement of $13 million. The U.S. District Court in Florida investigated the evidence, rejected the murder charges, but found a sufficiency of evidence on the embezzlement charges. Another District Court heard an appeal on habeas corpus from these findings, and affirmed them. Its decision was upheld by the Court of Appeals and the Supreme Court. This judicial unanimity would ordinarily be adequate to justify extradition, but this is no ordinary case. The inclusion of trumped-up murder charges in the same complaint shows that Betancourt's interest is not in preserving the principle of the rule of law in Venezuela, but getting his hands on Jiménez because of an old political feud.

In the history of international law no former head of state has ever been extradited, despite the number who have gone into exile after revolutions. The reason the new regimes have been unable to punish their old foes is a tradition in international law that once a nation grants asylum to a foreign political figure, it will not yield him up to his political enemies. Although the Extradition Treaty with Venezuela has no such clause in it, this is such a widely understood principle that its inclusion was supererogatory. This principle is particularly well known in Latin America, where any sensible government head must always have getaway plans. The ACLU points out that the principle will be shattered if the U.S. hands over Jiménez to Betancourt.

IN THE NEXT ISSUE

*THE MIND OF GOLDWATER*
*by Russell Kirk*

*SALISBURY AND CAMBRIDGE, MD.: A CONTRAST*
*by L. Brent Bozell*

It is a mistake to confuse this issue with arguments about the precise nature of Betancourt's own political beliefs, and doubly a mistake to drag out of Betancourt's past his long-abandoned ties with Communism. Those irrelevancies can only make it easier for the Administration to evade the key question: which is more important for the United States, the integrity of a long-standing, humane and prudent rule of international practice, or a cynical political deal (at the cost of a man's life) to curry favor with a passing Latin American politician?

## *Communists and the March on Washington*

It will be at first, it has been already, denied that the Communist Party will be involved in the civil rights demonstration in Washington, D.C. August 28; and then denied that the Communist role will have been of significance; and then that its significant manipulations will have reflected unfavorably on the respectable civil rights demonstrators assembled. In this apologetic fashion, in the sifting of the ashes afterwards, as the mournful facts are discovered they will be reinterred.

The anti-Communist may reply: It is already known, on the basis of its theoretical necessity and elaborate preparations, that the Party will lend its full strength, not only to aggravating the civil disobedience inherent in such a demonstration, but to making the demonstration as effective as possible: because it is itself, as a natural attack on the social fabric, attuned to Communist ends.

It is predictable that these Communist efforts will find success within a radically-oriented gathering. And the respectable demonstrators are indeed morally implicated by the coincident Communist purposes. Let them consider, in advance, the orders laid down in the Party theoretical organ, *Political Affairs*: ". . . the fight for Negro freedom has become the focal point, which at this juncture holds the key to all other struggles, including the fight for peace. What is demanded, therefore, is that all progressive and Left forces, and especially all Communists, throw themselves into the battles which lie ahead on this



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front. More specifically, it is necessary, first, to mobilize all possible support for the Administration's civil rights legislation. . . . What is called for is *bigger* demonstrations, and especially a mass outpouring in the march on Washington, planned for August 28, such as has never before been witnessed."

## Roberto's Tale

Elsewhere in this issue (See "The Forgotten Young Men") William Rickenbacker tells of an interview in Miami with "Roberto," from whom he got (and verified) the astonishing news that dozens of young Cubans recruited by the CIA to lay the groundwork for the aborted invasion at the Bay of Pigs are still in Cuban jails, utterly disregarded by the great nation that sent them there thinking the United States Government was serious about liberating Cuba. Some of these recruits were shot; many have been given life terms; none of them appears on any of those official lists of Mr. James Donovan, who apparently dares not speak to Castro about the men whose exploits, only a few of which are related by Mr. Rickenbacker, drove Castro mad with anger.

Our informant has tried to interest everyone in our government and others in the plight of his son and his son's comrades. To no avail. Mr. Kennedy's undignified attempt to deny what is known all over the world, namely that the Bay of Pigs affair was an American operation, from soup to vomit, is an act of false pride, whose indulgence requires, among other things, the continued victimization of some very brave young men.

## Notes and Asides

The following letter appeared in the July 6 *San Francisco Chronicle:*

To the Editor:

Returning from an informative trip to New York, Washington and Paris, I am told that the *San Francisco Chronicle* has stated that I am sadly uninformed because I am not actively reading the *Chronicle.* I plead guilty to this charge but, as an extenuating circumstance, I would like to tell you that I am a reader of the *Berkeley Daily Gazette,* the *San Francisco Examiner,* the *Wall Street Journal,* the *New York Times,* the weekly edition of the *Manchester Guardian,* the *New Leader,* the NATIONAL REVIEW, *Time* magazine and *Foreign Affairs.* I hope you will print this letter in full because you obviously put great emphasis on keeping your readers fully informed.

*Berkeley, Cal.* EDWARD TELLER

## For the Record

Price the Administration may have to pay for Senate approval of nuclear test ban is removing veil of secrecy from Khrushchev-Kennedy correspondence since last Oct. 22. Some senators insisting they will have to see how far the Ks have gone in disengagement, non-aggression, disarmament talks before voting on the treaty . . . . Number one military question: have the Soviets perfected their anti-missile? There are top military men who believe so. Moscow, they say, was all sweetness and light this time because it is to Kremlin's advantage to freeze our research while they go into mass production of the anti-missile missile. . . . Dr. Edward Teller warns that the Soviet Union could explode small atomic weapons in space without our being able to detect them. He warns against hasty ratification of the treaty. . . . London sources say signing of treaty will be followed by large scale trade agreements between England and satellites.

French Government is taking steps to expel Mrs. Morton Sobell (wife of the atom spy) on grounds she is fomenting political agitation . . . . Spy scare note: German Social Democratic Party has warned its employees not to travel behind the Curtain for fear they may be forced to join Communist espionage rings . . . . Free movement of labor in Common Market causing some racial friction. Example: restaurants here and there in Germany with signs indicating Italians won't be served. . . . Algeria, on the brink of economic chaos, announces it has earmarked over $2 million to aid African liberation movements. . . . Threatened by these movements, South Africa this year increased its defense budget by 40 per cent—to the highest level ever.

Political tidbits: Washington rumors say one of the Kennedy girls is planning to run for Congress in Massachusetts in 1964 (maybe it would be easier if we all changed our names to Kennedy). . . . Among candidates for John Profumo's Parliament seat are a 21-year-old popular singer who goes by the name of "Screaming Lord" and an inmate of her Majesty's jail at Hull. . . . California has decided to go along: last week it ratified the 14th Amendment—97 years after Congress submitted it to the states.



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## On the Right

# *The Decline of Mr. Kennedy?*

WM. F. BUCKLEY JR.

A recent public opinion poll discloses that Mr. Kennedy's popularity has slipped precipitously. If the finding is correct, it is the most exhilarating datum since Plato's proof that even an illiterate slave boy could be taught to understand a complicated geometrical theorem. There is apparently hope for the human race after all. I intend no personal slight to our leader, for whom I wish a long and happy life. But I do feel it is high testimony to democratic perspicacity that the feeling should finally obtrude into the consciousness of the public that, notwithstanding the gentleman's personal virtues and his devout enjoyment of the perquisites of high office, the simple fact is he has no apparent qualifications for an office the successful discharge of which has everything to do with your and my hopes, dreams and ambitions, for ourselves and our children.

*Buckley*

A few weeks ago a British magazine published a devastating full-page cartoon picture of a monster machine bursting over with technological gargoyles, pipes, valves, spouts, indicators, bells, keyboards, switches, each of them named after some emblematic human sore—"The Negro Problem," "The Vietnam Problem," "The Berlin Wall," "Castro Cuba," "Gold Flow," etc., and across the whole of the apparatus the license plate: "The Kennedy Machine." "It's wonderful," one awed spectator remarks to another on beholding it. "But what does it do?"

The fabulous Kennedy Machine, designed to cope with all the problems that beset mankind, is stalled. The delirious self-assurance, all that youthful energy, all those teeming Harvard brains have fueled it, and it has throbbed away now for three years, nearly; yet nothing, but nothing, important has been accomplished. And the reason why is this: Mr. Kennedy has no grip on reality, no communicable vision of the purposes of his Administration. The grandiose rhetoric with which he reassures and galvanizes his constituents every time one of the meters on the machine registers a complaint is beginning to fall flat as the people discern the gruesome truth, that this efficient and likable young man hasn't the least idea how to maneuver through the greatest crisis in world history.

The concrete indictment of Mr. Kennedy is painfully easy to make. It was he who flunked the challenge of the Bay of Pigs, who stood by while the Wall was raised in Berlin, who concluded the unworkable arrangements in Laos, who is the prisoner of monopoly labor unions, who fails to staunch the flow of gold from our bleeding republic, who sits by acquiescently while the central bureaucracy leeches more and more of the power and freedom of the individual. But I suspect it is not the concrete failures that have caused the diminution in his popularity. It is something else. There is something about the slickness of his total performance that is cloying. The months go by and the problems are not solved, and yet one has the feeling of radiant self-satisfaction within the White House. I believe that any man who would address the public and confess his temporary incapacity to deal with the nation's problems, citing great historical obstructions outside his power to cope with, would earn the patience of the people. But that is not Mr. Kennedy's mode. He is surrounded by vain sycophants who seek to transmute his dismaying record into one great, endless, triumphal parade. The word is rodomontade: a vain, blustering self-righteousness. Lean on it too hard, and you will collapse on the rigidities of reality—for so long, at least, as self-government works. If Mr. Kennedy were to give the impression that he is genuinely and even obsessively concerned with the great lesions on the commonweal, we might show him the patience due to a faltering, but determined, doctor. Instead, though the patient grows worse, the doctor gambols about the world proclaiming the soundness of his patient's health, and his own magical curative powers.

This is a tough world. Anyone who wanted a serene life, Trotsky reminded us, picked the wrong century to be born in. There are no instant solutions to any problem. But Mr. Kennedy's failure is not to admit to the seriousness of these problems. The problem of a Communist state encysted in the womb of our hemisphere is, let us admit it, a problem: yet Mr. Kennedy has no solution for it whatsoever. The problem of the overhead of life in a technological society burdened down by monopoly unions and hedonistic state welfarism is a problem—but its existence never crosses the complacent lips of President Kennedy. Our President emerges as the ultimate man in the gray flannel suit: the great accommodator, the weather vane on the perfect ball bearings—soul-free, immune from any of the frictions of reality.

The image of total composure is politically reassuring, but only for so long as the people continue in their drugged state. How would they respond to a totally different figure? A man in shirtsleeves with furrowed brow, whose heart beats in audible anxiety over the elements that are tossing the world about in remorseless fury? Let such a man arise and say: Give me the tiller and let me hurl back imprecations at the gale, howl for howl. Such a man, I think, we sorely need, and if he arises, and is recognized, democracy will be vindicated.

### *Omen*

Perhaps it has come,
The Millennium
  Of prophecy and fable:
Men, eying others,
Behave as brothers —
  Cain and Abel.

OLIVIA NICHOLS



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# *From Washington Straight*

CATO

**A major security scandal** is expected to explode into the headlines in the near future. And right smack in the line of fire is the State Department.

Shortly after the Kennedy Administration took over, the State Department's Bureau of Security and Consular Affairs—once one of Washington's most efficient gumshoe agencies — underwent a series of reorganizations that left it in a mess. First, the Bureau was placed under the charge of a political boss whose background — all other considerations aside—gave him none of the technical competences necessary for heading the security bureau of the highly sensitive State Department. After his rather hasty departure—which followed a public outcry against the appointment—the Administration reorganized the Bureau, reportedly along lines suggested by old Cuba hand, William Wieland. (Wieland, you may recall, was one of the Foreign Service Officers who helped sell Fidel Castro to the U.S. Government as a sort of Cuban Robin Hood despite reports on Castro's Communist associates and leanings by Ambassador Earl T. Smith and others.) Security was split off from Consular Affairs with the result that security in the Department came to be regarded as a formality—to be ignored when possible and evaded when not.

*Cato*

Security officers with long and excellent records found themselves getting "the treatment" from their superiors at State. Some were "riffed" (reduction in force is when a man's job is abolished; it is one way to get rid of an employee without going through civil service firing procedures which are difficult). Others were given minor jobs from which they were almost certain to resign. The key men, who carried scores of security files around in their heads and could be "troublesome" if treated too shabbily, were sent abroad to soft jobs, there to await retirement age.

For the most part the "treatment" has worked. But security officers tend to be hard-nosed types whose devotion to their work arms them with a stubbornness seldom found in government employees. One such individual, a former top security official, whose present assignment is so laughable that one observer compared it to giving J. Edgar Hoover a job as "traffic cop," has recently had his security clearance lifted. This, in effect, classifies him as a security risk. In his case it is no longer a question of whether the axe is going to fall, only *when* it is going to fall.

Another security officer, still in his probationary period, along with several co-workers, filed an adverse report on a superior in the security division. The report dealt with this official's behavior during a trip abroad. The behavior? Four letter words employed about women in general (he didn't like women), public intoxication, public announcement of his affinity for Communism and socialism, and chumminess with a young person believed to be a Soviet agent. The report was filed with Washington and, so far as can be ascertained, nothing was done to investigate its accuracy.

But the young security agent lost his job on the basis of an "unsatisfactory performance rating" which his co-workers swear was unjustified. Later, when an outside security agency inspected the subject's security file, he found no adverse reports in the folder.

According to sources inside the Department the above case is not a rarity. One committee on Capitol Hill has almost the whole story in its files. It is due to be aired in the near future if Administration pressures to hush up the matter do not prevail.

**Civil rights is about** the hottest subject in the U.S. today. And from the press it would seem that the President's civil rights bill is popular with just about everybody except Southern segregationists and a certain ambitious Republican right-wing senator from a Western state.

A cursory check of congressional mail, however, tells a different story. Some congressional offices have little mail about the bill itself, though most report a substantial number of letters expressing fear of increasing violence—particularly during the August 28 March on Washington. Other offices, however, report heavy mail, most of which is against the coercive features of the President's bill. (These offices do not represent Southern constituencies. Southern mail, by and large, opposes the bill in its entirety.)

Several weeks ago it was rumored on the Hill that the President had made a deal on civil rights. Kennedy would make a public fight for the private property section of the bill, Southern Democrats would make headlines battling back and would win that fight. Whereupon Southern resistance would collapse and the rest of the bill would pass.

This deal is supposed to be still in effect, but there are doubts here about its chances of success. Hostile mail is having its effect on many congressmen. At this point it is safe to say that any outbreak of violence here on August 28 will kill the bill for this session.

**At this writing,** Senate approval of the nuclear test-ban treaty is in doubt. This situation, however, could change overnight. Most opposition to the treaty is being expressed privately because the senators don't know how their constituents feel about it. Moreover, the President made it clear that he is going to fight hard for Senate approval. His 25-minute radio-TV broadcast on August 26 was well calculated to whip up emotional fervor in favor of the treaty.

Many senators feel approval of the treaty will lead to Administration demands for other agreements with the Soviets that will require important concessions from the West. "This treaty is the first step on the road to Munich," one senator has said.

It is safe to say that evidence of popular support for the treaty will force the Senate to approve. Popular disapproval will kill it. The senators will be watching their mail with unusual interest in the crucial weeks ahead.



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# *Goldwater, Rockefeller, and the Young Republicans*

**What really happened at San Francisco. Why Liberal Republicans must prove that the conservative YR win was a victory of the "lunatic fringe" Right.**

M. STANTON EVANS

The Young Republicans of America, meeting at Boston's Hotel Statler in June 1951, chose Herbert Warburton of Delaware as their national chairman. Because Warburton represented what was to develop as the "Eisenhower wing" of the party, and because his opponent was strongly backed by elements close to the late Senator Robert Taft, the result was prophetic of what was to happen a year later in the senior party.

In 1959, when there was again some question as to who would be the next GOP nominee, a similar clash occurred. Ned Cushing of Kansas, a strong backer of Richard Nixon, was elected Young Republican chairman. The delegation from New York, trailing the tattered banner of Nelson Rockefeller, stood forlornly on the outside looking in. Once more the YR convention prefigured that of the senior party; Rockefeller's weakness among the YRs was, by year's end, equally apparent among their elders.

It has since become something of an axiom among GOP professionals that the YR convention immediately prior to a Presidential showdown is a good indicator of party sentiment. It was thus no surprise that this year's Young GOP conclave, held in San Francisco June 25-28, should have attracted the interest of the press and of party regulars. In the normal course of things, their soundings would have been recorded and issued as a Republican summer book on Presidential possibilities. But for a number of reasons, this year's convention achieved a notoriety surpassing any of its predecessors. It became, not simply an index to more important happenings in the GOP at large, but a major news event in its own right.

As usual, the convention featured a miniature version of the maneuvering under way in the senior party. The alignment of forces behind one of the candidates included Barry Goldwater's Arizona and a constellation of the more conservative states; behind the other, Rockefeller's New York and the more Liberal states. There were of course some areas of overlap, with a handful of conservatives backing the second candidate, and certain "moderates" backing the first. But in the main the lines were drawn clearly enough, according to previous custom. There were, however, aspects of the convention setting it apart from those of years past:

1. The winning candidate, Donald E. (Buz) Lukens, 32, of Washington, D.C., openly endorsed Senator Goldwater for the Presidency. While such allegiances have hitherto been deduced from the nature of a candidate's backing, and were equally plain in this instance, it is unusual for a YR chairman to put such preferences on record. In accordance with the Young GOP constitution, Lukens added that he would administer the affairs of his new office impartially, supporting all officially selected Republican candidates for office.

2. Lukens' opponent, Charles R. McDevitt, 31, of Boise, Idaho, labored to establish his own conservatism. Although backed by Liberal delegations from New York, New Jersey, Connecticut, etc., McDevitt seemed well to the right of his supporters. As one newsman noted (with evident distaste), McDevitt proposed at a press conference "that the government turn the veterans' hospitals back to the states as one step in an economy plan that would permit the abolition of the income tax." Such was the public mien of the candidate backed by Rockefeller's delegation from New York—a seeming paradox which suggests the all-pervading conservatism of the YRs.

3. Even had there been no contest for chairman, the drift of the convention would have been unmistakable. The *New York Times* observed: "The only Republican Presidential possibility with any following visible here is Senator Barry Goldwater of Arizona. And that following overwhelms like a herd of buffalo. Only his badges are sold and only support of him is talked of in the lobby of the Sheraton-Palace Hotel." The YRs turned out in record numbers to hear Goldwater at his June 27 appearance in San Francisco. A Presidential preference poll among the delegates showed a margin of eight to one, Goldwater over Rockefeller. A "Statement of Principles" adopted by the YRs, modeled on a Goldwater suggestion to the 1960 senior convention, was strongly conservative, and the delegates handily defeated New York-led efforts to Liberalize it.

## *That Supreme Betrayal*

These items in and of themselves add up to an event of newsworthy dimensions. But their cumulative effect led to yet another development of still greater import, escalating what had been a set-to among junior politicians into a full-fledged *casus belli* of national politics. On Sunday, July 14, Governor Rockefeller, having had two weeks to reflect upon matters, issued a cry of distress. The conservative triumph, he charged, was an act of "disgraceful subversion." In a world which needs "love and understanding," he added tenderly, the victors of San Francisco offered only "hate and distrust." They were, come to think of it, members of "the radical Right lunatic



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fringe''—extremists enmeshed in "cynical expediency." They were, in short, guilty of that supreme betrayal—non-support of Nelson Rockefeller.

To this noble effusion, Rockefeller added a charge of foul play. ". . . Every objective observer in San Francisco," he said, "has reported that the proceedings there were dominated by extremist groups, carefully organized, well-financed, and operating through the tactics of ruthless, roughshod intimidation. These are the tactics of totalitarianism."

To a reporter who was on the scene, Rockefeller's angry words suggest that the Governor must have had some other convention in mind. Certainly nothing he said resembles what innumerable eyewitnesses report as having taken place at the Sheraton-Palace. Some of the charges could hardly be serious; the accusation that the conservatives were "well-financed," for example, need not—considering the source—be accorded sober examination. The charge of "ruthless, roughshod intimidation" is undoubtedly intended for serious reception, but the evidence to support it is equally scarce. One searches Rockefeller's statement for documentation, but no specifics are given.

Perhaps the Governor took the word of the outgoing YR chairman, Leonard Nadasdy of Minnesota. Nadasdy, professing himself in a state of shock, devised a post-convention analysis similar to Nelson Rockefeller's. In an interview with the *St. Paul Pioneer-Press*, Nadasdy denounced the backers of Lukens, saying "they were using the exact same techniques as the Communists." In the *Minneapolis Tribune*, he added that "this radical element are just like the Communists. They drive the good people away." Nadasdy's allegations were repeated in a column by Drew Pearson, not usually considered a confidant of Republicans, who changed the accusation of "Communist" tactics to "fascist."

## *Smear Tactics*

Many press accounts of the convention describe Nadasdy and other anti-Lukens elements as "moderates." Somehow it is difficult to reconcile the concept of moderation with statements such as Nadasdy's or Rockefeller's. Smearing one's opposition as "lunatic," "totalitarian," "just like the Communists," practitioners of "subversion" and "hate," etc., is not the hallmark of the moderate man. Nor is it the kind of rhetoric we are accustomed to associate with "objective" discourse. It is instead precisely the sort of thing we expect from those who have been thwarted in partisan objectives, and who have no compunction about blackguarding opponents in the angry aftermath.

Rockefeller's wounded self-interest is too obvious a component of his remarks to need much elaboration.

***Lukens***

Nadasdy, portrayed by Pearson as an impartial observer, had a stake in the convention less apparent to the casual reader but equally real. Far from being a detached official voicing Olympian horror at mortal vulgarity, he was a bitter-end supporter of the defeated candidate, McDevitt. McDevitt had been Nadasdy's campaign manager in the 1961 YR convention in Minneapolis. For the past two years, he served as Nadasdy's chief appointee on the executive committee of the Young Republican National Federation. Prior to this year's contest, Nadasdy gave it as his opinion that McDevitt would be the winner. Presiding over the convention, he did everything within his power to prove his clairvoyance, and insure McDevitt's election. This fact was obvious to anyone at the press table but was unreported in several dispatches pulsating with horror over a rightist terror.

Many reports of the convention, for example, quote Nadasdy's plaint that the "screaming and hollering" of the delegates was "like a nightmare." What is not mentioned is *why* there was screaming and hollering—namely, the tactics Nadasdy employed throughout the convention to carry it for the Liberal faction. As early as Wednesday, June 26, in the contest for national college chairman of the YRs, there was a foretaste of the McDevitt-Lukens wrangle. Nadasdy had plunged into the campaign of Liberal-backed candidate Ward White of Cornell Law School against conservative Jerry Dickson (immediate past president of the University of Kansas student body) by attempting to control the makeup of the college Credentials Committee. Officials of the campus group rebelled, with the result that conflicting credentials reports were placed before the assembled college delegates; on two divisions as to which credentials would be accepted, the conservatives won. At that point, certain of defeat, the Liberal faction walked out, holding a rump meeting at which Nadasdy presided until a temporary chairman could be chosen.

## *The Credentials Gambit*

Nadasdy's role in the college election was but a mild augury of his behavior during the convention proper. Peter G. Kohler, chairman of the Wisconsin delegation to the convention, says Nadasdy's strategy became apparent when the report of the Credentials Committee was presented to the convention. "Nadasdy violated protocol and departed from the published convention program," Kohler says, "by presenting the report of the Credentials Committee prior to adopting the rules of the convention. The purpose of this maneuver lay in the fact that there were contested credentials, and it was hoped these credentials could be jammed through the convention while the floor was relatively empty. Further, should these credentials have been challenged, no rules had been adopted giving procedure under which to operate. This would give the chair and the general counsels a free hand in manipulating any contest. By catching the opposition unaware, the credentials were passed without contest and the session adjourned. . . ."

On the following day, Thursday, June 27, the credentials gambit assumed major importance. A dispute arose as to who should be allowed to vote in the New Jersey caucus. According to an agreement reached by the New Jersey state YR organiza-



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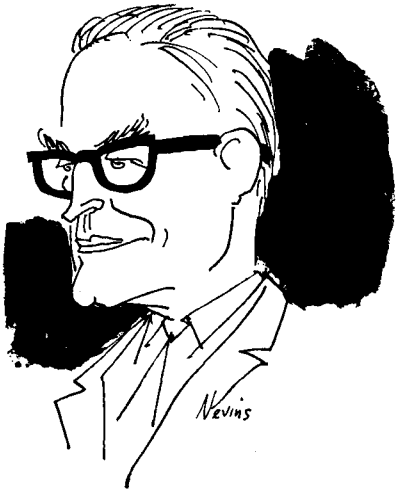
tion April 19, both delegates and alternates were to vote in caucus at San Francisco to determine the sentiment of the delegation. When it developed this arrangement would produce a conservative majority, the agreement was rescinded — without, according to the conservative argument, correct recourse to parliamentary procedure. The question was therefore brought to the floor of the convention, where Nadasdy ruled the Liberal delegates whose status was being challenged could cast New Jersey's vote on the matter. It was not, he said, a question of credentials (the credentials having been eased through the preceding day), and therefore the contested delegation could vote on its own seating. He then declared his ruling "unappealable." That determined the fate of the New Jersey conservatives, and sealed up the delegation for McDevitt. The question of whether the Liberal delegates could cast New Jersey's vote was thus decided—by letting the Liberal delegates cast New Jersey's vote. New Jersey National Committeeman Richard Plechner, a leader of the conservative forces, says: "The chair was upheld by ten votes, including the 21 unit votes of New Jersey in favor of the chair. It is one of the few instances in our political history that a delegation to any convention could reserve the right to vote on its own seating."

It was this parliamentary novelty, accompanied by much switching off of microphones and playing of the National Anthem, which first aroused conservative ire and led to angry protest on the floor. In the Pearson-Nadasdy account, however, the episode emerges as a pat case of Nadasdy attempting to hold off a horde of maniacs obstructing the "orderly" conduct of the convention. Peter Kohler says: "I assume that when Nadasdy says he desires an 'orderly conducted convention' he means a convention where he rules supreme and he wins."

With New Jersey secure for the Liberal forces, the key issue of the convention became the unit rule: Whether unit votes — allowing the majority of a delegation to vote a state's entire delegate strength— could be imposed by a single vote of the delegation, or whether they had to be mandated in advance by the state organization. According to the rules of the Young Republican convention, the practice of the state group is binding, and unit votes are valid only as they conform to such practice. Attempting to garner additional votes for McDevitt during Friday's balloting, Nadasdy decreed that unit rules were binding even when there was no home-state authorization for them. Massachusetts Chairman Richard Mastrangelo, siding with the Rockefeller forces, attempted the unheard-of procedure of imposing a unit rule between roll calls. Nadasdy ruled it permissible.

## *Liberal Steamroller*

When Lukens backers attempted to protest these rulings, they were refused recognition. When they approached microphones to speak on an issue, they were sometimes physically prevented from doing so. In cases where they succeeded in breaking through the cordons of "moderates," the mikes, centrally controlled by Nadasdy, were switched off. Thus universally thwarted, the conservatives not unnaturally denounced the rulings of the chair, shouted to make themselves heard, accused Nadasdy of trying to railroad the convention, etc. The alternative would have been to lie down and let the Nadasdy-New York-McDevitt machine roll over them. The cause and effect relationship of Liberal steamroller to conservative anger was obvious to anyone who sat through the balloting; no visiting journalist could have missed what was going on, since one




***Goldwater***

of the most hotly-contested microphones was directly in front of the press table. Yet horror stories about the convention make no reference to Nadasdy's tactics.

Contrary to the Rockefeller-Nadasdy assertion, protest from the floor was not the work of "right-wing extremists." Robert D. Bell, chairman of the Oregon Young Republicans (the Oregon GOP is headed by middle-of-the road Governor Mark Hatfield) gives the following synopsis of Nadasdy's conduct:

> The ruthless parliamentary tactics used by outgoing chairman of the National Federation, Leonard Nadasdy, will long be remembered by this writer. This man used his position of power while chairing the convention to rule again and again in favor of his 1961 campaign manager, Charles McDevitt from Boise, Idaho. On the first ballot, he even declared McDevitt elected and then had to rescind this ruling because his candidate did not have a majority of the total delegates present. . . . [Reportedly] Nadasdy, in trying to bring order to the proceedings, muttered to himself "This is incredible." Observing from the floor chairman Nadasdy's entire handling of the convention, I concur, this was incredible. Incredible that an officer of a highly respected national organization would indulge in such shenanigans. Incredible that the tone of the convention was set by the fact that the Nadasdy organization hired private police to be present and also insisted upon reinforcements in the form of members of the San Francisco police. This was a vain attempt to intimidate the delegates.

With the convention machinery arrayed against them, the Lukens forces found communications a particularly difficult problem. The difficulty was intensified on the eve of the final balloting, when Lukens headquarters personnel found their phone lines had been cut. (New Jersey conservatives had similarly found their headquarters room broken into and the wires on their mimeograph equipment severed.) On the floor of the convention, the job of coordinating strategy among pro-Lukens delegations assumed Herculean proportions. Large groups of Liberal delegates, sergeants-at-arms, and private police (dubbed "rent-a-cops" by conservatives) stepped in at one time or another to prevent Lukens workers from moving about the floor. In contrast, says YR leader Al Deckard of Indiana, McDevitt supporters had complete freedom of movement. "At times," Deckard asserts, "there seemed to be as many McDevitt supporters from outside our state sitting with our delegation as there were people from Indiana. They were com-

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pletely commingled with our delegates. Lukens workers, on the other hand, time and time again were singled out and forced to leave the floor. The sergeants-at-arms were definitely partial to the McDevitt forces, and they were about the only people who could gain access to a microphone without using force. The machinery of the convention was completely one-sided."

It would be possible, if space allowed, to quote scores of similar complaints. One Midwestern delegate says he was approached by a Nadasdy subaltern accompanied by two policemen and three sergeants-at-arms and asked "whether I would leave the floor quietly." He adds that only by seeking out his state chairman, who was able to produce on the spot written proof of the challenged delegate's legal status on the floor, was he allowed to remain. "In the absence of this proof," he says, "I would have been ejected from the floor." In a scene enacted directly in front of the press table, Massachusetts National Committeeman Michael Robbins was physically restrained by a group of Liberals trying to keep him from getting to a microphone. Richard Plechner of New Jersey says that when he approached the chair to question a point of procedure, after having been refused recognition a half-dozen times, he received a similar reception. Groups of New York delegates roamed the floor in search of Lukens backers suitable for election. Says Peter Kohler: "The only violence I saw close to the Wisconsin delegation was caused by New York delegates, a couple of whom threw some knees or punches in their assignments to 'cover' the opposition and to block the floor organization and movements of the leaders of the opposition." Another Midwesterner adds: "Two or three sergeants-at-arms (appointed by the Nadasdy-controlled convention machinery) continually followed Lukens' floor manager, prior to and during the balloting for chairman, endeavoring to make him leave the aisles and convention floor. It was pointed out to them that the floor manager for McDevitt and Art Richardson [a New York YR leader] were effectively conducting the floor communications for McDevitt and they were being given complete freedom of movement."

As these remarks indicate, a frequent theme of the delegates is the key role played by the partisans of Governor Rockefeller. "The dictatorial tactics," says Michael Robbins, "were all on the Rockefeller side." Indiana delegate Don Cope adds that "the New York people were allowed to go anywhere they wanted, but Lukens supporters were harassed by sergeants-at-arms whenever they stepped into the aisles. New York delegates surrounded the microphones, trying to keep conservatives from reaching them." Joseph T. Mur-

***Rockefeller***

phy of the Massachusetts delegation gives a virtually identical summary of the New York delegation's performance:

> Mr. Rockefeller said he was deeply disturbed by the "ruthless, rough-shod intimidation and tactics of totalitarianism" at [the] convention. What was not stated, of course, was that these tactics were utilized primarily by the 41-member New York delegation working in conjunction with the outgoing chairman to prevent the election of a pro-Goldwater chairman. . . . Gangs of New Yorkers surround[ed] the floor microphones to prevent by physical means legitimate delegates from speaking. These tactics so incensed the delegates that they refused on numerous occasions to allow the chairman to proceed until he sent the New York delegation to its seats and ultimately caused sufficient resentment among uncommitted delegates to swing the election to the pre-convention underdog.

The recurring mention of New York's performance makes the Rockefeller pique understandable; clearly, New York prestige and influence had been engaged in behalf of McDevitt's candidacy, and the loss was a painful setback in both categories. From the foregoing, it would appear that if the governor is truly concerned about improving Young Republican manners, he might have a fatherly talk with some of his own protégés.

## *Tragi-Comic Efforts*

The end of the first roll call, despite all these exertions, found McDevitt short of a majority. California chairman Robert Gaston, who had run as a favorite son candidate, demanded recognition to change his state's vote to Lukens. Nadasdy refused to recognize Gaston, instead announcing McDevitt had been elected. Pandemonium ensued. At last admitting his mistake, Nadasdy proceeded immediately to a second roll call, still without recognizing California. This time the balloting ended with Lukens in possession of a clear majority. But Nadasdy, who had announced the results of the first ballot with lightning speed, would not give the totals. The ballot was dragged out interminably as state after state was called on for possible changes in its vote (the identical privilege denied to California on the preceding go-round), and as New York staged a tragi-comic polling and repolling of its delegation which changed nothing. During the stall, McDevitt supporters scoured the room for additional votes. After some of this by-play had gone on to no effect except to produce new votes for Lukens, YR secretary Carolyn Manchester tried to read the tally. Oregon chairman Bell gives this account of what happened at that point:

> Strangely enough, the police were absent at the precise moment that the national secretary, Carolyn Manchester from Portland, Maine, needed them to protect her from the irrational outburst of chairman Nadasdy, in an effort to stop her from announcing the official vote which elected Lukens the winner and defeated the chairman's candidate, McDevitt. She was violently shoved away from the microphone by Nadasdy before she could read the results.



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## The Third World War

# *Who Is Conning Whom?*

JAMES BURNHAM

What is the primary motive of the U.S. Government in seeking—under both Republican and Democratic Administrations—a nuclear test ban treaty?

At the outset we were told that the goal was to prevent contamination of the atmosphere by radioactive fallout; and it appeared that the government had indeed been pushed into its pro-test ban stance by the propaganda campaign on the terrors of fallout. But this cannot be the sufficient explanation. The government wants the ban to cover underground tests, and has offered extreme concessions to induce Moscow to accept that extension. The omission of underground tests from the Harriman treaty is considered only temporary. But there need be no fallout from underground tests.

Moreover, recent scientific studies show that a moderate amount of fallout is not much of a threat anyway. Secretary of State Rusk admitted to the Foreign Relations Committee that, though the question of fallout had made nuclear testing into "a key political issue," it was actually "of secondary importance."

Somewhere along the line we began to be told that the main reason for a test ban treaty was "to prevent the spread of nuclear weapons." No one has ever explained, or could explain, how an agreement among the U.S., the USSR and Britain, even if endorsed by Cambodia, Gabon and U Thant, can stop all other nations from getting nuclear weapons. France already has a few, is going to get more, and is going to test as much as she judges her security requires. China will have a few soon. India, Israel, Japan and Germany could quickly make some for themselves, and of course any nation might get—might already possess—some as a gift.

As part of the buildup for the Harriman treaty, the explanatory tune has once more been changed. The reason we want a test ban treaty, the President and his aides now tell us, is so that "confidence can be built" (the words are again Mr. Rusk's). To what end? To make possible the advance toward what the President (perhaps forgetting that he was plagiarizing Khrushchev's 1959 speech to the UN) defined as "our primary long-range interest": "general and complete disarmament." In his TV report, the President declared that "if both sides can by this treaty gain confidence," then we can speed forward in "the age-old pursuit of Peace."

### *Objections Not Sustained*

Opposition to a test ban treaty has stressed the chance that the Communists would "cheat." That chance is a near certainty. Communists *always* cheat in any agreement with the enemies of the revolution; for Communists, negotiating and signing treaties are only special modes of warfare. In fact the Communists have *already* cheated in connection with the test ban affair: first, by preparing tests under cover of the negotiations; second—as is their usual habit—by introducing jokers into the text of the treaty, so crude that even State Department analysts are disturbed.

Nevertheless, I do not think that "cheating" in the narrow sense of conducting clandestine weapons tests is of primary importance. If our Intelligence is so rotten that they could carry out significant test series without our discovering it, then we're hopeless anyway.

Our own renunciation is more serious. Though they will doubtless change their story under current White House pressure, the Joint Chiefs of Staff and some of our leading scientists testified this spring that our security requires further testing in connection with high megaton effects, anti-missile missiles, other problems of nuclear defense, and the continuing possibilities of critical breakthroughs. It is hard for a layman to judge these technical matters, but it seems likely that the net effect of a ban will be to increase the nuclear strength of the USSR relative to our own.

### *Pass Me the Mescalin*

But even this technical and strategic loss is secondary. The crucial defect of the Harriman treaty is exactly what the Administration now puts forward as its primary justification: that it will "build up confidence." Just so. It will nourish in Western public opinion a fraudulent confidence in the good will and peaceful intentions of the enemy. Promotion of such confidence—far more precious an adjunct of their operation than anything a nuclear test series might bring—is the real motive of the Communists in signing the treaty. It is a variant of the old Nazi-Communist routine of signing a non-aggression pact (*cf.* Czechoslovakia, Poland, the Baltic nations) as part of the psychological preparation for an aggression. The new treaty is a hypodermic filled with a hallucinatory drug brewed by the Communists. Messrs. Harriman and Kennedy obligingly press the plunger that sends the liquid coursing through our veins. A test ban is probably harmful to us in any case; but a *de facto* test ban *without* a treaty—which is not impossible—would be much better than a ban *with* a treaty. It is the treaty more than the ban that puts us to sleep.

The President has carefully planned his demagogic pressure campaign to make every opponent of the treaty appear as a Public Enemy of Peace; and it is now clear that, despite Senator Dodd's letter to *NR* [July 30], the Dodd-sponsored resolution of the 34 senators served as part of that plan—a kind of diversionary move to immobilize firm anti-Communists. It will take a rare quantity of political courage to rise up to expose the treaty for what it essentially is: a sizable step along the road of appeasement and piecemeal surrender. Some senator might do well to ask his colleagues to have a look at the results of the last treaty negotiated by peacemaker Averell Harriman. It was, you may recall, the Geneva accord on Laos.



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## Letter from the Continent

# *The Count of Paris*

E. v. KUEHNELT-LEDDIHN

The French, regardless of whether they are of the Right or Left, are asking themselves these days what the Count of Paris is actually up to. Is he a serious candidate for the presidency? The French presidency is no longer a purely decorative office. It can be compared with the position of a constitutional monarch (as, for instance, the King of Greece) who actively participates in the government. Twice in modern history France has "evolved" from republic to monarchy. (The opposite process, from monarchy to republic, is always of a revolutionary, not of an evolutionary, character.)

*Kuehnelt-Leddihn*

Who, then, is the Count of Paris, whom even the leftists (*vide* their leading paper, *L'Express*) consider a possible President and whose advent to power they would regard with distaste and dismay, though not with despair? He is the great-great-grandson of the "Bourgeois King" Louis-Philippe of the Orléans branch of the Bourbons. Since the senior line of the French Bourbons died out with the Count of Chambord, the French Royalists consider him to be their legitimate sovereign. A tiny group of purists insists that the Spanish Bourbons, as descendants of Louis XIV, should reign over France. The objections of these "Blancs d'Espagne" are not without substance since King Louis-Philippe's father was the unsavory Philippe Egalité.

The present Count of Paris, grandson of the Duc de Chartres who fought as a volunteer in the GAR (*Grande Armée de la République*) was born in 1908, spent most of his early childhood in Spanish Morocco and then studied in France. In 1926, when his father became the Pretender, he had to go into exile; the law of 1886 stipulated that the head of the Bourbon family and his oldest son could not stay on French soil. He completed his university studies in Brussels and married a remote relative, Princess Isabelle of Orléans-Bragança at an early age.

In 1940, by special decree, the Count of Paris was allowed to join the Foreign Legion under an assumed name, but the fast-moving military developments prevented his active service. He went back into exile but avoided London, not wanting to take sides in the grave conflict splitting France at that time. In 1950 a new law made the Count's return to France possible. Since his estates had not been confiscated, he is a man of considerable wealth. His sons could now join the French Army. And indeed one of them was killed in action in Algeria.

### *For the Entire Nation*

On the Algerian issue, the Count of Paris was again most careful not to commit himself. But his ties to de Gaulle are well known and his residence in Louvecienne, outside of Paris, was *plastiqué* by the OAS. As possible future sovereign of France, he always wanted to represent the entire nation, not just one party or one social layer, and this he has kept in mind. He publishes a monthly information bulletin in which he deals with important political, economic and social questions. His supporters in artistic and intellectual fields are numerous. The late Georges Bernanos was his personal friend.

The French Pretender is, among other things, an astute political prognosticator. On December 21, 1956, he predicted to me the return of de Gaulle to politics and when I voiced surprise insisted that power would fall into the General's lap like an "overripe fruit." And this is the way it happened. At a dead end politically in 1958, France literally implored de Gaulle to take over.

What does de Gaulle think of the Count of Paris? Is the General-President still, as he once was, a monarchist? In 1957, upon the occasion of the Dauphin's marriage to Princess Marie-Thérèse of Wuerttemberg—the first in a series of princely intermarriages with South Germans—de Gaulle sent the following message to the Count of Paris: "This is an opportunity for every Frenchman to share in your joy. I welcome, Monseigneur, this alliance which God may bless, because the destinies of your family are those of France. Whatever you do sets an example to the country. Your future, that of Prince Henri, and of your family are the hope of France." If this is not an expression of homage I don't know what is.

Yet, what would the French say if the Count of Paris were to become the next President? *L'Aurore*, a right-wing daily, reminded its readers that all the Count of Paris reasonably could hope for was to become President, but slyly added, "as it happened in the case of Prince Louis Napoleon in 1849 . . ." which, as we all know, resulted in the re-establishment of the Empire in 1852. ("President for Life" as an intermediary solution is becoming more and more frequent, *vide* the cases of Tito and Sukarno.) At present there is nobody on the French scene who has remotely the appeal of the Count of Paris. Is he really "popular" though? Probably not. But as a symbol of continuity and order, as a sort of guarantee against a return to parliamentary chaos, he could almost certainly rally the nation.

Would the extreme Left or the extreme Right oppose him to the point of mounting the barricades? This is highly improbable. The economic situation is too rosy, the outlines of another *belle époque* too visible for Frenchmen to lay down their lives for . . . what? For a Sixth Republic? So long as the political parties retain a modicum of importance, so long as the trade union leaders remain unmolested, so long as French national pride remains untouched, so long as some lip service is paid to certain ideals of the French Revolution (which the great-great-great-grandson of Philippe Egalité can do without appearing to be a hypocrite), the calculations of the Count of Paris may prove to have been correct.



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# T.L.C.--Keep Your Paws Off Me!

"Hands off!" growls Miss Caldwell, appalled at the tender Laying-on-of-Hands ritual—hallmark of the Big Mama cult in society

TAYLOR CALDWELL

As I am an enthusiastic hypochondriac, I had, a few years ago, worn to the very bone the local physicians and their catalogues of diagnoses. So, armed with brand-new symptoms, I went to another city which has a famous clinic, and entered its hospital for tests. I wasn't ill; I was simply curious to know what I had *this* time and if my own diagnosis would pay off to the discomfiture of my home doctors who had declared I was remarkably healthy.

The bed in my hospital room was comfortable and I had several interesting books to read, and so I prepared myself for a happy night of quiet entertainment. At midnight, hot on the trail of the murderer in a murder mystery, I heard the room door open and a youngish nurse, all arch tiptoeing, head-tiltings and enormous white teeth, invaded my room. Oh, darling, why wasn't I asleep? Did I hurt? Could she *get* me anything? Was I comfy? I looked a little, little tired . . .

While this soft monologue went on, the nurse began to shift my well-arranged pillows, to smooth the sheets, to flutter her hands over my hair, actually to pat my cheek. I suddenly felt slimy. I got rid of the creature with a few unladylike words, and irritably lit up another cigarette. At 3 A.M. I turned off the light and went to sleep. Then, coming up from the dark depths I was confronted by a brilliant flashlight, and another creature was bent over me, grinning, smoothing, patting, and squealingly demanding to know if I was all right. I was so shaken that I brought up oaths I hadn't used for years, and routed her. It took some time to get calm enough to fall asleep again.

Before I was fully awake once more —and it was now early morning and blasted sunlight was pouring into the room—my consciousness was aware of my hair being lovingly stroked, and also my cheeks and shoulders. I sprang up in bed with a yell, and still another nurse was smiling at me with simpering affection. "Morning, morning!" she trilled. "Time for our lovely breakfast!" Apparently she caught some emotion in my face for she stopped suddenly, and fled. Wrathfully I waited for the doctor.

When he arrived I told him of my experience, and asked to be informed of the mental condition of the night-invaders. He was surprised. "Why," he said, taken aback, "there's nothing wrong with the girls! That's our new Tender Loving Care philosophy; it's supposed to lift the depressing atmosphere of a hospital."

I left an hour later. I now knew why I had been suffering such bellyaches over a period of time and such intense irritability. I had been subject to Tender Loving Care in practically every area of my life, with the

exception of my family, of course. It had been going on, it seemed, for years. It was the real cause of my nausea and acidity.

Now I recalled that I could not shop without having the saleswomen coo at me, smooth my arm, pat my back, or throw an arm about my shoulders. This had all embarrassed and annoyed me. Nor was this confined to shops. Waitresses and waiters had taken it up, hovering like parent birds over the tables, smiling, beaming, peeking archly into one's face, solicitous and twittering. Had I been the only one who had felt annoyance and embarrassment? No; I recalled tight expressions on gentlemen's faces and looks of discomfort in the ladies' eyes.

### *Warm, Warm Hands*

Not long ago, loaded with luggage, I was stupid enough to stumble and fall flat on my face in an airplane on the way to my seat. Did the passengers and the stewardesses considerately avert their faces to spare me mortification, and allow me to pick myself and the luggage up and slide inconspicuously into my seat? They did not. Instantly warm, warm hands thickened the air about me; arms yanked me to my feet; the stewardesses cooed sweetly at me, assuring me that I was perfectly all right, darling, sure you are. Sick with humiliation, and enraged with myself for bringing all this "warmth" and "love" upon my person, I pushed away the clouds of helpers and found my seat. Did they let me alone? Not at all. The stewardesses took turns all during the trip to pat me, to flare their handsome white teeth into my face, to assure me that I was alive and uninjured. But I could have killed them in my outrage. During a quiet and unattended period a gentleman across the aisle looked at me sardonically.

"How do you like all this Tender Loving Care?" he asked me. He informed me that he was a physician employed by the airline company. "They're teaching the girls all about being motherly to the passengers," he said. "Hard on the girls. But the public laps it up, like syrup."

Maybe the public does "lap it up, like syrup." But only that part of the public which has a mendicant soul, a prideless and dependent character, a craven solicitude for its physical body, a maudlin desire to be petted,



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like a dog, by all and sundry. And this, by the way, is true only of America. Other peoples have more self-respect and would respond to such vulgarity with adult anger.

My husband, who blissfully believes he is a swimmer, was taking a dip on a British beach two years ago. Coming to shore, in about a foot of water, he tripped and fell on his knees. At once the well-bred people on the beach politely averted their faces and talked to each other animatedly, thus sparing Leander humiliation and embarrassment. But I saw the same thing happen on an American beach, to a lady who was a remarkable swimmer. Instantly, with cries like mother birds, men and women surged into the knee-deep water, "rescued" the red-faced lady, and carried her in their arms to "safety." She tried to appear grateful, but I saw her eyes and grinned. It was so evident that she was indulging thoughts of violent mayhem on her rescuers.

Do your friends come up to you for a pleasant word when you are dining out? Ours don't, not any longer. They fall upon you with exclamations of affection, putting their hands on your arms, clutching your shoulders, playfully butting your chin with their fists. They exude "warmth." They know in their hearts that they are hypocrites, but it is all the thing now—this Laying on of Hands.

All this is the result of the social-worker psychology in this country, full of the desire to "help." Even the magazines have taken it up. Women don't buy their special magazines to learn how to cook or to read some light story. They buy magazines because they "care." It is never made specific what you are to "care" about. "Caring" is enough, and "being warm." What vomitous phrases!

My fellow conservatives are afraid that Big Brother is loose in the land now. This is bad enough. But Big Mama (of both sexes and the neuters, too) is infinitely worse, infinitely more dangerous to the national character, infinitely more demoralizing. She invades our privacy and reduces our dignity. Big Brother carries a club. Big Mama carries a bottle of stupefying and poisoned syrup. Let's send her back, all three sexes of her, to Washington, with a kick in her rump.

## Religion

# *Religion and Public Life*

WILL HERBERG

The crucial passage in Justice Clark's majority opinion in the *Schempp* and *Murray* (Lord's Prayer and Bible reading) cases, is no doubt the following:

> . . . to withstand the strictures of the establishment clause [of the First Amendment] there must be a secular legislative purpose and a primary effect that neither enhances nor inhibits religion.

This passage well reflects the strange incoherence of the majority opinion as a whole. For the second part of the criterion it offers ("neither enhances nor inhibits religion") not only does not follow from the first ("secular legislative purpose"), but stands in obvious logical and historical contradiction to it.

The Federal Government is indeed restricted to "secular" purposes. That is because it is a state, not a church; and, in our Western tradition, the jurisdiction and activities of the state have almost always been understood as limited to the promotion of the common good in the civil order, which (I presume) is what Justice Clark means by "secular purpose." Note well that this restriction of the state to the civil ("secular") order is not a peculiarly American "separationist" notion derived from the First Amendment; it is, as I have said, deeply rooted in our Western tradition, and rests upon the primary distinction between State and Church, which was at least as clear to Augustine and Thomas Aquinas as it is to the justices of the Supreme Court. With this part of Justice Clark's criterion, there can be no quarreling; it deserves all the emphasis it can get.

But the second part of Justice Clark's test of constitutionality does not follow from the first; rather it contradicts it. *For the promotion of religion may well be seen as a major* "secular" *purpose of the state in its furtherance of the common good of the* civil *order.* This was the almost universal conviction of Americans at the time of the adoption of the federal Constitution; and it has remained the conviction of the American people, and the practice of federal and state government to this very day, despite the confusion introduced by recent Court decisions.

*Herberg*

The Northwest Ordinance of 1787 is widely recognized as a significant reflection of the best mind of the American people at the outset of their career as a nation. Perhaps the most celebrated article of this ordinance is Article 3, which reads as follows:

> Religion, morality, and knowledge being necessary to *good government* and the happiness of mankind, schools and the means of education shall forever be encouraged [my emphasis].

Two years before, in 1785, what was probably the first state university in this country, the University of Georgia, was established. The charter of the university—adopted, let us remember, not in "theocratic" New England but in "Jeffersonian" Georgia—included the following paragraph:

> When the minds of the people in general are viciously disposed and unprincipled, and their conduct disorderly, a free government will be attended with greater confusion, with evils more horrid, than the wild, uncultivated state of nature. It can only be happy when the public principles and opinions are properly directed, and their manners regulated. This is an influence beyond the sketch of laws and punishments, and can be claimed only by religion and education. It should therefore be among the first objects of those who wish well to the *national prosperity*, to encourage and support the principles of religion and morality . . . [my emphasis].

Documentation could be multiplied; but the point, I think, is clear: the promotion of religion, along with the promotion of morality and educa-



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tion, is understood as a legitimate, indeed an imperative purpose of the state *in the promotion of "good government" and "national prosperity."* This was a recognized principle at the time of the emergence of the new nation.

The very first Congress, which ratified the First Amendment, also assigned certain funds to subsidize Christian missionaries among the Indians; and, in one case at least, if my memory serves, the missionary thus subsidized was a Roman Catholic. This action, which must shock and outrage every conscientious "separationist," was hardly taken out of a deep concern for the Christian religion, and emphatically not out of a predilection for the Roman Catholic Church. It was taken because it was obvious to all thinking people that religion (in this case, of course, Christianity) was "necessary to good government"; and the promotion of religion among the Indians—even, where expediency dictated, the Roman Catholic version of religion—was important for the national welfare. It was with this *"secular"* motive that the Congress moved, thus acting upon a well-established principle.

This principle has not changed either in theory or in practice, despite the protests of a few doctrinaires. Why do we exempt religious, along with educational and charitable institutions, from the burden of taxation which might otherwise crush them? Because we recognize that religious institutions along with the others, perform an indispensable *public* ("secular") service. Why do we support an extensive chaplaincy system in the armed forces? Because we recognize that the chaplain in the armed forces performs an indispensable *public* ("secular") service essential to the national welfare. If, as Justice Douglas said some years ago in the majority opinion in the *Zorach* case, "we are a religious people whose institutions presuppose a Supreme Being," it would seem to be stultifying to prohibit the government from *in any way* promoting the activities of religion serving to strengthen our social institutions by strengthening their "presupposition"? And, in fact, the government has not been so inhibited, as we all know.

Theologians may very well have their qualms about a religion that is thus converted into an instrument for strengthening the secular order of society. This aspect of the problem I hope to discuss in a later article. Here, however, my point is something quite different. My point is that, within the meaning of our political tradition and political practice, the promotion has been, and continues to be, a part of the very legitimate "secular" purpose of the state. Whatever the "neutrality" of the state in matters of religion may be, it cannot be a neutrality between religion and no-religion, any more than (to recall the language of the Northwest Ordinance) it could be a neutrality between morality and no-morality, knowledge and no-knowledge. All three, in our American conviction, are necessary to "good government" and "national prosperity"; and all three fall within the legitimate scope of the friendly assistance of the state.

## Roberto's Story

# *The Forgotten Young Men*

WM. F. RICKENBACKER

*After a lifetime of hard work with an American company in Cuba, "Roberto," until 1960, enjoyed a decent life, owned sufficient assets, and looked forward to a modestly comfortable retirement. Now almost sixty, he still moves with the energy and vigor of the champion athlete he has been, but in Miami the style of his life has changed: he'll park his old second-hand car some distance from his destination in order to save a nickel from the parking meters. He tells me about his son. . . .*

At Havana University in 1960 some members of the Student Organization who had lined up against Castro found they had to flee the country. My son was among them. The students came to Miami and formed the *Directorio Revolucionario Estudiantil.*

That was about August or September 1960, six months before the Bay of Pigs, and soon afterward the CIA got in touch with the *Directorio* and assigned an agent to work with them specifically. I'll call him X. Through X the CIA selected ten or twelve of the leaders and gave them special training in counterrevolutionary activity. Sabotage, demolition, explosives, espionage, communications, all that. The idea was to send these boys into Cuba equipped to train others, and before April 1961 the project proved to be one of the biggest sabotage operations Castro had to face.

The training here in the States was conducted very secretly. The boys would go off to one place or another for some kind of training, and my son wouldn't even tell his mother and me where he was going or where he had been. We do know he spent two weeks in Baltimore once. Eventually they were ready to infiltrate their country.

My son made two efforts to get into Cuba, but each time he came back because he hadn't gotten the right signals from shore. Finally in December 1960, X picked up my son and two or three other boys and put them on a boat for Cuba, and this time they were determined to make the landing. They missed their contact with a rowboat that was to take them ashore, but they jumped into the water to swim for it anyway—five hundred yards of shark-infested water, at midnight, and loaded down with grenades, small arms, ammunition, communication equipment.

Once inside Cuba, the boys did a real job. They stayed in touch with the CIA by radio, organized other students in anti-Castro work, and succeeded in keeping Castro's internal security forces in great disarray. They would sometimes get supplies from the CIA—caps, detonators, plastic for bombs, sidearms, rifles, am-



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munition. Once they completed delivery right in the middle of Havana harbor. Other times they picked up the stuff somewhere along the coast, using a couple of dead lobsters as "camouflage."

I'll tell you about that. The boat from Miami might come in along shore at night and drop a shipment offshore in a watertight bag. Then the next day the boys would go out in full daylight with a lobster fisherman and a couple of dead lobsters. When they found the shipment, they'd dive down with a dead lobster and then come up and wave the lobster in the air just in case anybody on shore was watching with binoculars, and meanwhile each time they came up they'd slip part of the shipment into the boat with the other hand. The same lobster would go down and come up for hours, until the shipment was on board, and then they'd move down the coast and put in somewhere else, so if anyone asked them why they didn't have more than a couple of lobsters they could just say it was a bad day for lobsters.

Of course the CIA had already supplied them with Cuban driver's licenses made in the U.S., and worker's licenses—you have to have them under Castro—also made in the U.S., and fictitious stories about their family and their past careers. These things, plus their own wits, plus the girls, made the operation a success.

The girls were essential, and I mean it seriously. They were of good family and good moral character, and they made it possible for the students to move around with impunity. The girls would always drive the cars even if a boy was there, and if a soldier stopped the car then the girl had to show her license but the boy didn't. Or if they were found parked somewhere waiting for a meeting or a shipment, they would start making love, and the soldier would think to himself, Well, that's natural, and he wouldn't ask many questions.

But often a girl would sit outside alone in the car with a pistol in her lap while a meeting was going on, and if trouble came she was prepared to shoot it out with the soldiers and be killed if necessary in order to give the boys time to get away. These youngsters were willing to die. They took terrible risks. Some of the boys would wait until Castro got going on television, and then they'd break in on the same channel and broadcast a violent anti-Castro message. It drove Fidel wild.

## *Until the Betrayal*

That is how they operated inside Cuba until the Bay of Pigs invasion of April 1961. The underground movement had grown until there were hundreds of boys and girls in it, some of them not yet even of college age at the time. They almost brought the Castro regime to its knees in frustration, but then came the Bay of Pigs, and the betrayal.

You will hear it said that the Bay of Pigs invasion failed because of lack of air support, but that is not the whole story. All of the older leaders of the anti-Castro movement in exile were deceived and kept in darkness by the U. S. Government. They were never informed of the invasion, not even after it had started. They were isolated under guard in secret places. They learned about the invasion from a radio broadcast. And you can't accept the excuse that they were kept in the dark because of military security, because Castro already knew about the invasion. They were simply cut off, and that is why they could not coordinate the political and intelligence effort with the military effort.

And the anti-Castro movement in Cuba, including my son, was never informed of the invasion. At least, not in time to do any good. On April 18, 1961, at six in the evening, after the invasion had failed, and when many were already in prison, the Cuban underground received this message from the base: *The time has come. Blow up bridges and highways. Liberation is near. Adelante, Muchachos!* The boys answered in disgust with the slogan Fidel Castro had used: *Patria o muerte, venceremos. Fidel Castro was right.*

And that is why it was impossible for the underground to spread the simple word that would have started an enormous popular uprising against the Castro regime. That is also why the underground, caught by surprise, was unable to escape the general dragnet in which Castro rounded up 200,000 Cubans in the days immediately after the invasion collapsed. That is why several hundred young Cubans were shot or imprisoned, and why my son is in jail even now.

*Roberto has a list of 148 students, both boys and girls, now in Castro's prisons. Most of them are of college age. None is more than 25. Many more, whose names are unavailable, are still in their teens.*

*Liborio*, Miami

***En el mundo del Derecho no todo es tal cual lo ves, que una cosa es el Derecho, y otra cosa es "al revés."***

**← The caption reads: "In the world of Law, everything is not what it seems; for one thing is right side up and the other upside down." (Turn the page upside down.)**



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# Principles and Heresies

## *The Khrushchev-Kennedy Treaty*

FRANK S. MEYER

AVERELL HARRIMAN, the Hero of Laos, has negotiated and initialed the nuclear test-ban treaty. John F. Kennedy, the Hero of the Bay of Pigs, in a nationwide television speech, has opened the barrage designed to smother sober consideration and criticism of the treaty in a welter of emotion. Nothing now stands in the way of establishing it, substantively and symbolically, as the settled policy of the United States, except to secure the advice and consent of the Senate. Rarely has the utmost deliberate consideration been more demanded of the Senate, yet every device available to the Administration is being pressed into service to bring about a precipitate, unconsidered and emotional ratification.

*Meyer*

Kennedy's appearance on television was the climax of the first phase of this campaign—a phase in which the press was filled with inspired stories of every sort and description. Henry Cabot Lodge was dragged from his grave as a portentous warning to the enemies of Presidential wisdom, and the Chinese bogeyman was paraded across the stage to terrify those who doubted Khrushchev's sincerity and peaceloving nature.

In the second phase of this campaign, beginning now, the pressure on the Senate will mount to further heights. That pressure the Senate must resist—not only because it is its constitutional duty to consider treaties in calm deliberative process; not only because the treaty is highly questionable in itself; but primarily because this is the first opportunity the Senate has had to pass upon a consistent Administration program (previously implemented by Executive actions alone), the effect of which has been steadily to weaken our military stance vis-à-vis the Soviet Union (apparently in implementation of the Rostow doctrine of appeasement of Communism by military-technological retreat).

CONSIDER the record: *abandonment of the RS-70 (reputedly the first fruits of Rostow's visit to Moscow in late 1960); phased withdrawal of the B-47s from Europe and elimination of European-based IRBMs; planned obsolescence of the B-52s and B-58s, intensified by the scrapping of Skybolt; the decision not to develop nuclear weapons in the 50+ megaton range; downgrading of the nuclear plane project and Dyna-Soar; grotesquely distorted emphasis on space exploration and NASA civilian-centered projects at the expense of military rocketry; the Administration's official Maginot-line policy of concentrating all our strategic force in Minuteman and Polaris, weapons whose warheads are ineffective against enemy offensive nuclear power and are therefore limited to a purely deterrent, a statically defensive role.* It is true, of course, that any one of the decisions to relinquish this or that weapons system might be justified on specific military-technological grounds; but the series of decisions taken together adds up to a policy of appeasement, retreat, and inherent weakening of the military stance of the United States.

That this *is* the policy of the Administration is confirmed both by its actions in the face of Soviet aggression (the loosening of the embargo on trade in strategic items with the Communist empire; the Hungarian negotiations; the farcical Laos agreement; the shameful and perilous retreat in Cuba) and by its words. Blindly ignoring the character of Communism, to say nothing of the revolution of envy sweeping the "colonial" sector of the world, the Administration projects as the goal of our policy a disarmed United States subservient to an international authority, an authority which, things being as they are, would inevitably be controlled by the Communists in manipulative alliance with the envious.

Kennedy expounded this policy in his American University speech (which I have analyzed in these pages [*NR*, July 16] and the State Department has solemnly introduced proposals to implement such a policy in the General Assembly of the United Nations. Now Kennedy has, in his television address, reiterated it, proclaiming his "ultimate hope for general and complete disarmament." The preamble of the test-ban treaty, which the Senate is called on to ratify, declares that the signatories "[proclaim] as their principal aim the speediest possible achievement of an agreement on general and complete disarmament under strict international control in accordance with the objectives of the UN . . ."

THERE are strong enough arguments against the substantive terms of the treaty, of course. In the first place, outer-space testing is, in the view of scientists, almost as difficult to detect as underground testing, and this may well become in a few years the most important kind of testing. More immediately, atmospheric testing is of the utmost importance if we are to surpass the Soviets, not only in very high yield weapons and in acquiring the necessary knowledge of the effect of major nuclear explosions on communications vital to the effectiveness of our strategic striking force, but most decisively in achieving a breakthrough at the key frontier of military technology, the anti-missile missile.

These arguments alone indicate the danger of the Khrushchev-Kennedy treaty. But, in the light of the consistent military and diplomatic policy of this Administration, it presents to the Senate a manifest opportunity, by rejecting it, to call a halt to appeasement and retreat. Those senators of both parties and many persuasions who have understood the disastrous consequences of this policy—Goldwater, Tower, Russell, Thurmond, Stennis, Symington, Jackson, and many others—have the strength, standing together, to rally the Senate against a willful President and bar the road to continued retreat.



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# From the Academy

**RUSSELL KIRK**

## *Propaganda for Mediocrity*

Some of the people who ought to be the guardians of academic attainment have become, in fact, not only apologists for the destruction of standards in college and university, but positive evangelists of mediocrity. Such is the general policy of an organization called the "Joint Office of Institutional Research," situated in the city of Washington.

*Kirk*

Despite this pretentious scientific title, the "Joint Office" is a propaganda bureau for the Association of State Universities and Land-Grant Colleges, and the State Universities Association. Some of the more respectable universities belonging to these societies must be embarrassed, from time to time, by the anti-intellectual tone of the Joint Office's bulletins.

To get more money for the big state institutions—money anywhere, by any means, including (or perhaps especially) new grants from the Treasury—is a primary aim of this Joint Office. Any argument that will serve so glorious an end, these public-relations people employ. One way to persuade Congress, the state legislatures, and the public to appropriate larger funds for the state universities and colleges is to advance the demagogue's argument that everybody has a *right* to be in college. One student is just as good as another, or maybe a little better, see? And who are you, you old reactionary, to say that Joe Mulligan, who got D's in high school, won't be another Albert Einstein, after Dismal Swamp A & M has finished polishing him.

The degradation of the democratic dogma is most repellent when it masters the Academy, and combining with the ambitions of certain anti-intellectual college presidents, who dream of ever more professors and students within their own imperial systems. Of the manner of reasoning these gentry employ, a bulletin of the Joint Office, released last March 2 ("For your Information," Circular No. 32), is a sufficient specimen.

### *The Columbia Experiment*

This bulletin resorts to gross misrepresentation in order to advance the argument that there should be no restrictions upon entrance into a state institution—no weeding out of inferior applicants. For the authors of this bulletin write, "A Columbia College experiment, designed specifically to test freshman performance of students with lower than normal verbal aptitude scores at the time of admission, found they did as well or better than students with higher scores."

Were this true, the Columbia College Experiment would be astounding. But one has only to read the fourth page of this bulletin itself, to discover that the Joint Office propagandists either can't read a serious report, or else shamelessly distort results to make a slogan. For what Columbia College actually did, described on page 4 (to which the average reader of this bulletin may not penetrate), was to prove that most students with inferior "verbal" skills, even if they possess "other reliable indications of outstanding promise and potential," perform badly in college.

Columbia admitted seventy-two freshmen who seemed to have such promise, but "whose background, environment, poor schooling, or foreign education may have hindered them," and who ranked low on verbal aptitude tests. In the courses in English A and Contemporary Civilization A, these particular students squeaked through, nearly all of them—but scarcely with flying colors. Of these 72 "experimental" students, 53 per cent ranked in the bottom quarter of their classes in these courses, 25 per cent in the next-to-bottom quarter, 16 per cent in the second quarter, and only 6 per cent in the top quarter. The average Columbia freshman got a B— in Contemporary Civilization; the average "experimental" student, C+.

While this experiment does suggest that a student who wants to work and seems to have native talent may manage to *survive* in college, even though not very good at reading and writing, it certainly does not justify the wild claim, on page 1 of the "Joint Office" bulletin, that these "non-verbal" students "did as well or better [*sic*—non-verbal propagandist at work] than students with higher scores." When only 22 per cent of this group ranked above average, and only 6 per cent in the top quarter, obviously the great majority did not do as well as, or better than, the average college freshman.

Another distortion in this bulletin is effected through quoting a Dr. Ernest O. Melby, "distinguished professor of education at Michigan State University." I don't mean that Dr. Melby is misquoted: on the contrary, he seems even sillier and more doctrinaire than the propagandists of the Joint Office. But they quote his misleading assertions, without any modifying criticism.

Among other foolish things, Dr. Melby told an audience at Wayne State University that we ought to abolish "selectivity and emphasis on grades," for these create a "human scrap heap." Alas, "we admit students largely by grades and measures of verbal intelligence, yet current studies show that I. Q. students are not necessarily those most creative."

Now the "current studies" to which Professor Melby apparently refers definitely do not demonstrate that one potential student is as good as another. Rather, they suggest that many intelligent-quotient tests do not succeed in ascertaining qualities of imagination, ingenuity, and poetic insight. Your servant has been saying that for two decades and more. But an exposure of the inadequacy of most "intelligence" tests is a far cry from disproving the ineluctable fact that some young people are bright, and others aren't—and that the latter are no asset to a college.



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# Hard Row to Hoe

HUGH KENNER

*What is this book?*

Substantially, five lectures given by Professor Brooks "in June 1955 at the Conference in Theology for College Faculty, held at Trinity College, Hartford." May I add that it is unfair to expect miracles at a Conference in Theology.

*What does it contain?*

Discussions of Hemingway, Faulkner, Yeats, Eliot, and Warren, skillfully designed to obtain for these writers a more thoughtful respect among the academicians who have attended at an improving occasion.

*Are those academicians not already readers of the five writers you have listed?*

It is difficult to say. But my experience of academicians—and I dare say that of Professor Brooks as well—has been that many of them are sensitive to the distraction entailed in reading outside one's curriculum.

*But have they not at least what you have called "a thoughtful respect" for these eminent authors whom they have perhaps not read?*

Very possibly not; for they have been ceaselessly blown upon, as Mr. Brooks hints, by J. Donald Adams, *Time* magazine, and the lucubrations of "the average Liberal intellectual."

*Who is J. Donald Adams?*

He is a man who is paid to have an opinion, every single week, about elusive topics, and this makes him cross.

*What is* Time *magazine?*

It is a collective name for a stable of writers who are paid to be amusing, every single week, about everything that happens, and this makes them glib.

*What is "the average Liberal intellectual?"*

He is a man the continuity of whose moral being depends upon his being able to extract, every single minute, a moral imperative from every single thing that comes to his attention, and this makes him jumpy.

*Describe the state of his soul immediately following exposure to Hemingway, Faulkner, Yeats, Eliot, or Warren.*

I shall quote Mr. Brooks' description: ". . . he does find some things of which to approve—the honesty, the attacks on racism, the increasing comprehension of the dignity of the individual even among the poor and oppressed—but he also finds many of our best writers defective in their sympathies and hopelessly old-fashioned in their prejudices: T. S. Eliot is wedded to obscurantism; W. B. Yeats, great poet that he was, at one time flirted dangerously with Fascism; William Faulkner could never really qualify for membership in ADA."

*Will he read this book?*

Not until it comes out in paperback.

*For whom, then, has Mr. Brooks caused his book to be published in hardback?*

For a hypothetical "Christian looking at modern literature," who, he says, ought to find in that literature "a great deal that is heartening and helpful."

*I gather that this reader does not always find what he ought to find?*

Evidently he does not; and for two possible reasons. He may have resisted the habit of looking at modern literature, having been warned by his mentors (see above) that he will not find the experience improving. Or he may have turned to it for "overt preachments of Christianity," a demand which Mr. Brooks rightly says will "certainly exclude some of the most spiritually nourishing literature of our time."

*Does Mr. Eliot not overtly recommend Christianity?*

He does; but that is not a reason for reading him. Mr. Brooks states, in a formulation much indebted to Mr. Eliot himself, that we read literary works "not so much for instruction in ideas as to learn—through a kind of dramatic presentation—what it feels like to hold certain beliefs, including the pressures exerted against belief"; and he adds that Mr. Eliot's awareness of the pressure of a secular culture "renders his poetry more valuable to us rather than less valuable."

*Describe Mr. Brooks' approach to his other four writers.*

His Hemingway "depicts brilliantly the struggle of man to be a human being in a world which increasingly seeks to reduce him to a mechanism, a mere thing." His Faulkner (to travesty a complex presentation) displays evil as "the violation of the natural and the denial of the human," without supposing that improved legislation will make that violation less

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***The Hidden God,*** by Cleanth Brooks. Yale, $4.75

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**T. S. Eliot: *with Hemingway, Faulkner, Yeats and Warren, the object of Cleanth Brooks' scrutiny.***



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likely. His Warren (R.P., not E.) deals in deliberately non-religious terms with "the psychology of conversion and the cost of redemption."

*And his Yeats?*

His Yeats is a great poet, best presented on such an occasion, Mr. Brooks felt, by the reading aloud of eloquent extracts, though two statements at least are ventured: that Yeats, pushing away "timid Victorian pieties" and "soft-Raphaelite distortions," restores to Christianity "its proper dimension of awe and dread"; and that his poetry "asserts the dignity and power of the human spirit against the spiritual and intellectual corruption of our time."

*I gather that Yeats proved somewhat intractable.*

I believe he did; but in venturing to recommend him at all for the approval of Christian readers Mr. Brooks was implying, I think, that such readers are apt to be restricted by their Christian concern. It is his contention, rather, that an active Christian mind will include in its scheme of things assertion of the dignity of the human spirit, and will be impoverished by too automatic a distrust of such assertion.

*Is it Mr. Brooks' assumption, then, that his Christian reader has special difficulties with such a writer as Yeats?*

It is; and with most other great modern writers; for many who are aware that a great modern literature exists "continue to dismiss it as merely sensational, violent, meaningless, or nihilistic." It is his hope that he can induce such readers to approach and perhaps digest this literature.

*Comment on Mr. Brooks' hope.*

Alas, I wish I could share it, but I cannot; for I am not sure that the indifference and suspicion he contends with are at bottom Christian, though it was tactful of him to assume so. I fear rather that his hypothetical Christian reader, like any other reader who will consent to be categorized, is at bottom simply a timorous reader, and that the system of ideals to which he assents with a certain identifiable flaccidity has for him this appeal among others, that it appears to restrict the amount of reading matter he need bother with. For it is essential in these times to appear literate, and yet it is fatiguing to contend with the daemon who inhabits every important book. So millions hunger for some principle that will cut down the required reading list. One notes, for instance, that the man who thunders most indignantly against the Index is apt to subscribe with relief to a private Index of his own, on which appear all the Catholic theologians.

*Is Mr. Brooks' effort then wasted?*

No effort of so skilful a propagandist for literacy is ever wholly wasted. Ultimately those who must read will read, and will find out what they must read; and if Mr. Brooks can do no more with a segment of the rest, he will at least inhibit their too ready prattle about what they have not read or read imperfectly, and hence reduce their power to drive dedicated readers into rebellion against what is represented to them as Christianity. So at least one may pray.

*Amen.*

Amen.

## Random Notes

● MOVIES: Charles Addams remarked to *Variety's* man at the *Cleopatra* opening, "I just came to see the asp." . . . Mr. and Mrs. Frank Perry, who made the fashionably Liberal *Propaganda-kitschfilm, David and Lisa,* are loose in the wilds of the Main Line again. This one will be *Ladybug, Ladybug,* and is about banning the bomb, natch. . . . It looks as if Anthony Quinn will portray Zorba in Michael Cacoyannis' filming of Nikos Kazantzakis' *Zorba the Greek.* . . . William Schuman, president of the Lincoln Center for the Performing Arts, and René d'Harnoncourt, director of the Museum of Modern Art, have announced two of the twenty films to be shown at the first New York Festival this September 10-19: Ermanno Olmi's *I Fidanzati,* winner of the Catholic Film Office Award at this year's Cannes Festival, and Luchino Visconti's classic of 1947, *La Terra Trema.*

A lengthened version of John Huston's masterpiece, *The Red Badge of Courage,* is currently showing at the Musée Cinématique in Paris. It was a great flop in the Republic a decade ago. . . . After seeing Twentieth Century-Fox's *The Condemned of Altona,* Jean-Paul Sartre, its author, has asked that his name be removed from the credits. . . . And Lawrence Bachman, of Metro-British, is setting out to make a movie of *Bleak House,* glory be. . . . Film scripts, with stills, are becoming more frequent, and welcome and high time. Schroederverlag has just issued in Germany Ingmar Bergman's *Through a Glass Darkly,* René Clair's *Silence Is Golden,* Antonioni's *L'Avventura,* and Luis Buñuel's *Viridiana.*

● EDUCATION AMONG THE LIBERALS: The 1963 New York State Regent's Examination in Latin includes a question about Cleopatra VII (69-30 B.C.), arousing, of course, unkind suggestions of promotional skulduggery. . . . Pennsylvania has banned black-face minstrels in all its schools, after a protest from the Norristown NAACP.

● BOOKS: That "more exciting things happened in book design between 1837 and 1890 than in any other comparable period in the history of the world's printing, and most of them happened in London" is copiously proved in Ruari McLean's handsome *Victorian Book Design and Colour Printing* (Oxford, $10). . . . A sequel to Charles Schulz's *Happiness Is a Warm Puppy* is out: *Security Is a Thumb and Blanket* (Determined Productions). . . . Roger Shattuck, whose *The Banquet Years* (about Apollinaire, Satie, Rousseau le Douanier, and Jarry) is the best history there is of the arts in modern France, has just published *Proust's Binoculars: A Study of Memory, Time, and Recognition in À la Recherche du Temps Perdu* (Random House, $3.95). . . . For September: Edward Gorey's *The Wuggly Ump,* another of his Edwardian capercutters (Lippincott, $1.75).



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# Shattered Glory

SIR SHANE LESLIE

BRITISH BIOGRAPHY is improving. Lord Crewe's pompous silver-gilt eulogy of Lord Rosebery is succeeded by this free and immense research into his enigma not unlike an excavation in Pompeii where the rubbish often reveals the flash of a good find.

Rosebery's was the reverse of an American success story. He began with every possible gift that birth and later Destiny could give, and ended as a melancholy failure. A Scotch peer with an English Duchess for mother—stately homes, Derby-winning horses, government offices ending with the Premiership were poured upon him, to say nothing of a Roths-

*Rosebery*, by Robert Rhodes James. British Book Centre, $10.00

child heiress in marriage. At Eton he was idolized by the fascinating teacher William Johnson, who trained every brilliant star the school produced but was sacked for inscribing over-Platonic letters to his favorites. Rosebery was deeply moved but slid aside from any scandal. Later he avoided the Dilke scandal (both being in Gladstone's entourage) and we learn that he frankly declined the Prince of Wales' request to make his bachelor house a meeting place for actresses and Queen Victoria's two eldest sons.

The Jewish marriage astounded Society, sorrowing equally the Synagogue and the Duchess, who wrote a model letter for such an occasion. As he already possessed wealth and castles, it can only have been love which made the marriage a success. Hannah was not beautiful, but was painted by Watts to resemble Tennyson's Princess. Though Rosebery was Gladstone's political heir (turning out to be his Absalom in the end), we read of an amusing henfight between Hannah and Mrs. Gladstone. Rosebery was inconsolable at her death and was tending her grave when Queen Victoria called him to the Premiership. The Tory Disraeli had given the bride away and the Liberal Gladstone had gathered him into the Cabinet.

But that was of the abundance with which Destiny spoilt her favorite son. Incidentally, he won the Derby several times and was offered the envied chance of writing the life of Gladstone as well as of Disraeli. Out of the cornucopia bestowed upon one man, the careers of a dozen statesmen, sportsmen and litterateurs could have been fashioned.

Amid the ponderous Liberal orators from Harcourt to Asquith he was a genius of mischief, and he mocked and rent his own party as often as he derided the Tories. What could he not do if he tried? He was a brilliant Foreign Secretary though he shied at a French alliance which he rightly believed entailed war. He dashed to Australia and invented the idea and name of a British Commonwealth over the globe. He made one quick visit to the United States realizing its world potentiality to the full. He was a Whig of the eighteenth century: Charles Fox or Edmund Burke returned. Had he been in power then, the United States need not have seceded.

HIS SPEECHES roused the Scotch mobs to blood-heat. He made Gladstone's Midlothian campaign, yet kept himself Queen Victoria's pet. His epigrams transfixed and drove frantic with fury or delight. But his short uneasy Premiership wrecked his party and himself. He remained scintillating amid the storms. Once he was to Scotland as ravishing as Bonnie Prince Charlie. He seemed later more like an "Old Pretender." Compared to his contemporaries he had the material of a successful Roman Emperor. Crowned by the gods, he only demanded complete human acquiescence—for humanity's sake and the imperialism he had conceived out of regions Caesar never knew.

But he had a divine sense of tact for he was chosen amongst the Ministers to implore Mr. Gladstone to cease trying to convert Mrs. Langtry and rescuing prostitutes he met walking home at night. Gladstone took it kindly from him.

Yet God seemed to have made him to mock him. Every possession, every good luck, every opportunity, every


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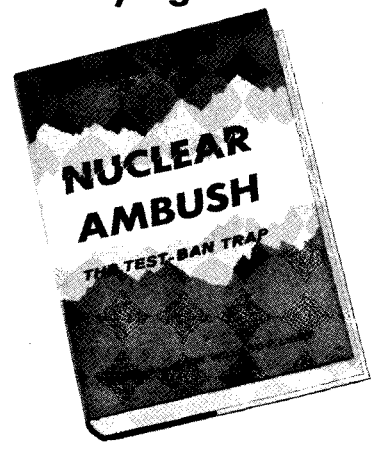


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## In Coming Issues

A hitherto unpublished letter of great biographic interest by T. E. Lawrence

Ernest van den Haag, on Hannah Arendt's *Eichmann in Jerusalem*

John H. Morse, on Earl H. Voss' *Nuclear Ambush: The Test-Ban Trap*

symbol of power, every ambition reached him until Chauncey Depew telegraphed after his third Derby, "Only Heaven left." But Hell came first, for God took away the power to sleep and he agonized until he said he understood why men committed suicide. All his glittering life crumbled and he watched himself sink into a wailing wizened leprechaun, failing friends, King and country whenever they needed him most. To this neither moralists nor fatalists nor philosophers can give any answer.

# Profiles in Perfidy

NATHANIEL WEYL

IN THIS BRILLIANT and absorbing volume, Margret Boveri, a German foreign correspondent, deals almost exclusively with the collaborators, Axis radio propagandists and German resistance leaders of World War II. Treatment of the Communist traitors of the Cold-War era is reserved for a later volume.

*Treason in the Twentieth Century*, by **Margret Boveri. Putnam, $5.95**

The conservative reader will find the first six chapters irritating. They contain pseudo-Liberal cant and differ from the rest of the book, which is factual, discriminating and intelligent. While I lacked time to compare Jonathan Steinberg's translation with the German text, I did compare the passages referring to McCarthy as a test. The German original blames McCarthyism for denying Dr. Oppenheimer clearance for further work on atomic weapons. The English text adds that Oppenheimer was "publicly branded as disloyal." Other passages contain similar heavy-handed additions to the text which will do nothing to enhance Miss Boveri's reputation for objectivity and independence of mind. The American edition also mauls proper names. *Hede Massing* becomes *Hedi Massing*. The German original quoted *Nathan Weyl* (a reasonably good first approximation) on disloyalty; the American edition changes this to *Hermann Weyl*, referring, I suppose to the distinguished author of *The Philosophy of Mathematics and Natural Science*. If Miss Boveri has altered the German text (contrary to the statement in the end papers) she owes it to her translator's reputation to say so.

Miss Boveri believes that the crime of treason lost its enormity in men's eyes when God was banished from the political cosmos. Deprived of religious sanction, the oath of allegiance lost its power to bind. In our century, national loyalty and international ideologies are in conflict and the conflict spawns treason. Treason

has the dual character of *Landesverrat* and *Hochverrat*, treason against the nation and treason against the state: in our Constitution, the first is treason by "adhering to enemies," the second is treason by "levying war."

Miss Boveri further observes that men may become traitors because of the inner nature of external circumstance. The latter category includes national minorities who are subjects of alien states, the residents of provinces which are tossed from one state to another by wars, the super-nationalists of the border provinces (Napoleon, Hitler, Lord Haw Haw), those who react against a totalitarian system with fear and hatred (Quisling as an ex-Communist). If there is a psychological pattern of the traitor—that is of the man driven toward treason regardless of objective circumstances—Miss Boveri has failed to discover it.

She believes that rejection of the French Revolution and its materialistic heritage is a common ingredient of modern treason. She finds that most of the traitors she discusses were religious, were highly individualistic, were in revolt against their rationalist and secular environment, yearned for an integrated community and were socialists in a completely non-Marxian sense. I find this generalization dubious.

This book gives a sympathetic picture of the collaborators—Quisling, Pétain, Darlan and Laval. Did the "unprincipled" French collaborators, Pétain and Darlan, prevent France from being devastated, Frenchmen from being deported and French Jews from being exterminated on the Polish scale? And, if so, does the expediency of the end-result excuse the act of collaborating with evil and its effect on national morale? Miss Boveri suggests that the collaborator by principle is one who prefers order to justice and human beings to citizens. One might also add: and comfort to honor.

Perhaps half of the book consists of a perceptive analysis of the heroes of the German resistance, their ideologies, their foreign policies and, above all, their relationship to the crime of treason in terms of the German state as a continuing entity. As one who lived in Germany and knew some of these benevolent traitors well, Miss Boveri is admirably equipped for this task. It is worth stressing that the leaders of the German resistance were, on the whole, aristocrats in rebellion against rule by the gangster intellectuals of the gutter.

The inevitable comparison is between the Boveri volume and Rebecca West's *tour de force*, *The Meaning of Treason*. The two volumes overlap in the case of William Joyce. Here the brilliant writing and somewhat waspish observations of Miss West are less rewarding than the analysis of the German writer.



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# Politics as Conciliation

REGINALD D. LANG

THIS IS A discerning and incisive essay defending politics as "a great and civilizing human activity." Although Mr. Crick's definition of politics is repeated in many variations, the pith of it is "the activity by which differing interests within a given unit of rule are conciliated by giving them a share in power in proportion to their importance to the welfare and the survival of the whole community." The political order, the author declares, is not the only mode of order possible, but it is the only order which in its very nature is pluralist. Politics can rule divided societies without unwarranted violence, because its general purposes are determined through and by the harmonization of special interests.

*In Defense of Politics*, by Bernard Crick. University of Chicago $3.75

Mr. Crick not only defines but, even more, defends politics. Its phalanx of enemies, which included even its "friends," extends across the entire political scene.

The first, and probably foremost, of these adversaries is ideology. Its peril for politics proceeds from its explicit claim, whether it arises from the Right or the Left, "to be the necessary and exclusive outcome of the total relationship of every aspect of society." Such a system outdoes autocracy, because it embraces all the social aspects of life which, in a political situation, remain private. Hence the ideological, because of its social animus, encompasses the whole range of human activities in one dread monolith that destroys the political function by absorbing it. The most costly privations of political freedom, when ideology is paramount, are the destruction of the intermediate groups and the loss of personal identity.

Mr. Crick warns against the temptation in the Cold War to meet an ideology of despotism with an ideology of freedom. An ideology of freedom, he declares, "is a contradiction in terms." Ideology does not mean merely a more intense fervor for ideas, even freedom; it is the destruction of politics. "Politics is not a grasping for the idea; but neither is it a freezing of tradition. It is an activity—lively, adaptive, flexible and conciliatory. . . . Politics is politics and other forms of rule are something else."

A rather unexpected antagonist appears in nothing less than democracy. We are so accustomed to bracketing democracy with freedom, and with politics, that to encounter it in the questionable shape of an assailant on politics excites our curiosity. Mr. Crick makes some serviceable distinctions at the outset: "We will argue that while democracy as a social movement must exist in nearly all modern forms of political rule, yet, if taken alone and as a matter of principle, it is the destruction of politics." And this excellent principle can commit so foul a deed because, when it becomes "majoritarian democracy" it offends against politics by depriving it of its implicit pluralism. "Democracy is one element in politics; if it seeks to be everything, it destroys politics, turning 'harmony into mere union,' reducing 'a theme to a single beat.' "

THE THREAT to politics from Nationalism is divided into democratic nationalism, (that arising from memories of actual and imagined imperial oppression and exploitation, and from racialism) and the nationalism of long-established states, which is normally restrained within a political tradition but in a crisis may assume "a xenophobia which too often outlives the crisis." Mr. Crick recognizes, as he should, Lord Acton's doctrine that the federalist and multi-national state is the condition for free institutions and civilized politics.

The menace of technology is traced to the attempt of Marx to unify knowledge and integrate thought with a scientific socialism. In a trenchantly analytical sentence the author cuts to the marrow of this menace: "what it amounts to is not that *all* decisions of government can be implemented 'scientifically' . . . but that government should only do those things which can be reduced to such a technique" [italics in original].

After the defense, which is surely successful, comes the song of triumph. The final chapter entitled "In Praise of Politics" touches several topics,


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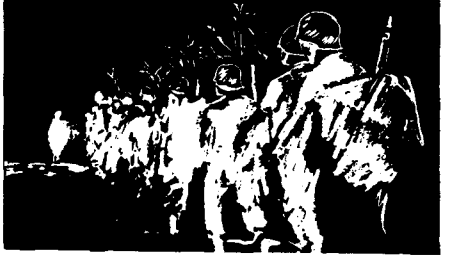




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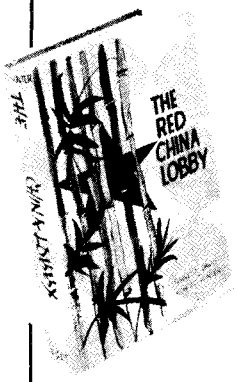


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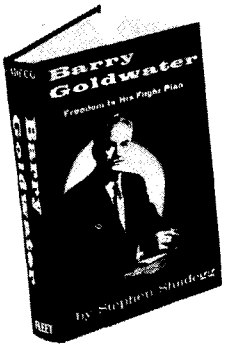


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ranging from the significance of bureaucracy in government to the importance of time in the solution of political issues. It relies principally upon American political thought. Reference is made to Madison's famous Tenth paper in the *Federalist,* and some sage comments set Hamilton's less famous Ninth paper in an unexpected context. There are also several penetrating and unworn quotations from Lincoln adorning this musing chapter.

Finally, I cannot forebear adverting to a brief section of slightly more than a page which refers to international politics because this topic has been so bereft of theory yet so generative of barren and unreal suppositions, and even of pseudo-divinations. Politics, the author asserts, requires a settled order, therefore inter-state relations are at their best a "kind of quasi-politics." Political compromise in international politics arises from a fear of ignoring diplomacy; it does not rest upon an established order, nor can it, for the "agony" of international relations is the necessity to practice politics without the conditions for political order. Here lies a seed from which some clarifying conceptualism about international politics can fructify.

## *Movies*

# Roman in the Gloamin'

FRANCIS RUSSELL

FROM FORTY MILLION dollars plus Elizabeth Taylor plus the ingenuity of producer Walter Wanger and the genius of screenwriter-director Joseph L. Mankiewicz I did not expect too much, but I cannot say that *Cleopatra* lived up to my expectations. In brief it is a slow-moving, slow-paced species of film epic with the usual De Mille-ana on an even more sumptuous scale, but without even the outrageous exaggerations that have made some of the more blatant film spectacles at least diverting. Mr. Mankiewicz with his embattled assistants and his Fox letters of credit has labored to produce a work of art while avoiding too exact an imitation of either Shakespeare or Shaw. And so the wit and the beauty have been eliminated, leaving a residue of pseudo-history for an uphill four hours that are still uphill even in an air-conditioned theater with the temperature outside 96 degrees. If I owned stock in 20th-Century Fox I'd sell now, for instinct tells me that those forty million winged dollars are not going to turn into homing pigeons.

Over the years I have seen a representative number of film epics from *A Daughter of the Gods* starring Annette Kellerman (Miss One-Piece-Bathing-Suit of 1916), *Theodora* (circa 1919)—with, I believe, the scenario by D'Annunzio—through the silent *Ben Hur, King of Kings* and *Ten Commandments* to the groves of technicolor winding up with *Lawrence of Arabia. Cleopatra* doesn't hit the high spots of any of these. True, Elizabeth Taylor takes a bath in the buff to end all such baths, but there's still nothing in the film to equal the watery intensity of *A Daughter of the Gods* when Annette Kellerman dives into a tankful of alligators that promptly turn to swans. Nor is there anything as hair-raising as the Coliseum scene in *Theodora* when the lions—admittedly somewhat mangy—claw their way up the walls and into the mass of spectators. Nothing like the sustained hokum of the chariot race in *Ben Hur.* Even the sea fight in that film is more exciting and convincing than the Actium engagement in *Cleopatra* where the opposing fleets appear to be shooting Roman candles at each other. As for the land fighting, the maneuvering and advances of the legions in *Spartacus* were infinitely superior to Mr. Mankiewicz's battle-drill. So was the scenery in both *Exodus* and *Lawrence of Arabia.* I don't know how


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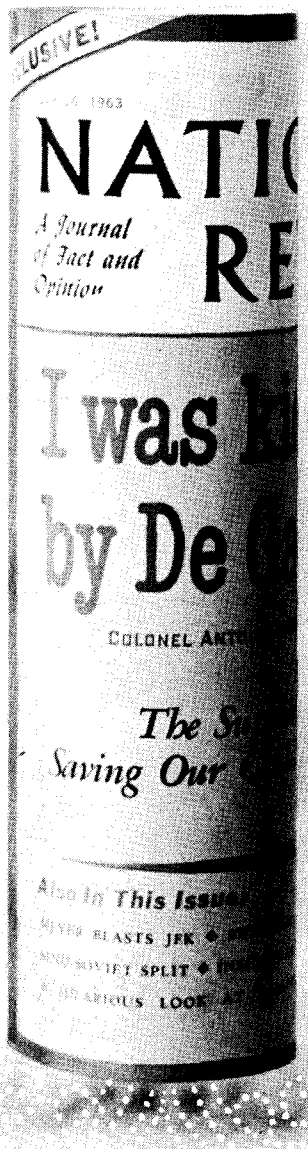


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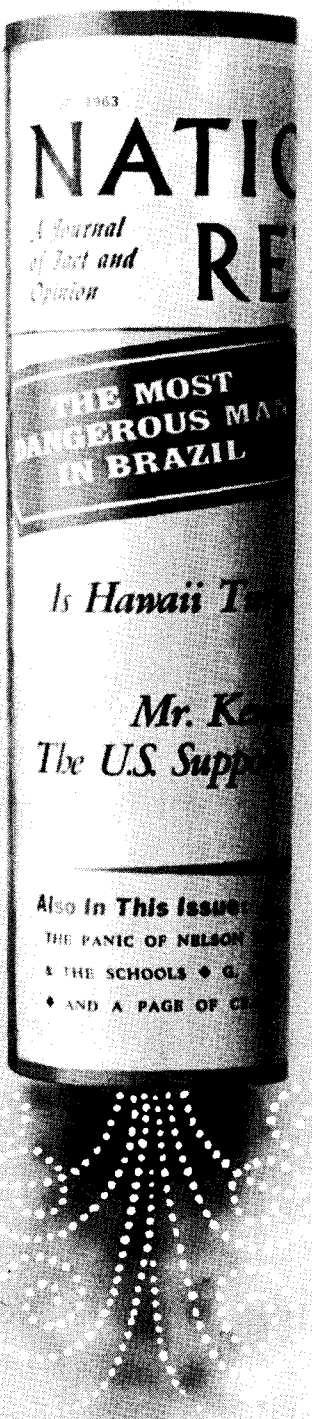


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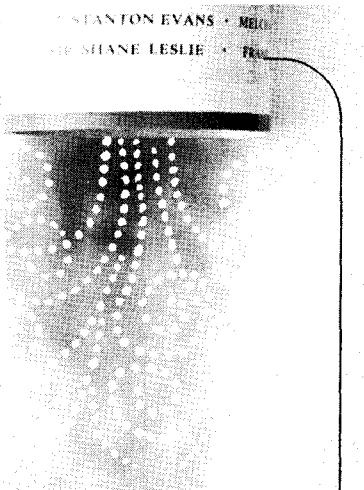


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many tons of cement were poured by the 20th-Century Fox helots, but I know a painted backdrop when I see one—and in *Cleopatra* those backdrops had the subtlety of a colored postcard of the sunset over the Bay of Naples.

I suppose most of that forty million went into riotous living and the vast débutante party given for Cleopatra when she arrived in Rome. For reasons best known to Mr. Mankiewicz most of the reveling took place under the reconstructed Arch of Constantine. Alexandria too has been pretty thoroughly reconstructed, with painted drops filling in where the management finally overdrew its account. And of course there is Cleopatra's barge with its crew of happy B-girls.

Long before the third *King of Kings* I came to the conclusion that the film epic was a monstrous art form, that spectacle and mature drama were self-cancelling. Mr. Mankiewicz has demonstrated this with Euclidean clarity. In aiming for maturity, while at the same time trying to provide enough spectacle to appeal to the immature, he has achieved a synthesis of dullness.

Outside of the chrys-elephantine pageantry and a namby-pamby dialogue, the chief flaw of *Cleopatra* is in the casting. Elizabeth Taylor is no regal presence and her variety is far from infinite. She has never been an accomplished actress, and her somewhat high-pitched British voice with its harsher overtones acquired in the Hollywood years is not a medium for a tragic queen. Her physical structure is sound—one must grant her that—but her looks are only skin-deep. I remember Pamela Brown some years ago (she appears here sorrily miscast as the high priestess) when she played the witch in *The Lady's Not for Burning*—a role she turned into one of sheer enchantment. Elizabeth Taylor is incapable of such a profound interpretation. As Cleopatra she just isn't.

Richard Burton is of course a finished actor, although one might take the "finished" in a more literal sense after seeing him as Anthony. This is probably more the fault of the script and the direction than his, and yet I wondered if, just as Cleopatra had finished Anthony's political career, so Elizabeth Taylor might not be doing Burton in as an actor.


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Whatever one may say about the others, Rex Harrison, that old war horse, makes a superb Caesar. I'm not sure how closely he resembles the real McCaesar—sometimes he reminds me more of Monty chestily addressing his staff—but he plays the part with a suaveness we have come to expect of our well-trained British Caesars with their old-school togas. He is Caesar for us as we feel Caesar ought to have been, even if the original Julius was probably more like Mussolini in his private habits and manners. Improbably enough Roddy McDowell puts on an equally distinguished performance as Octavian, and even succeeds in the rare cinematic feat of developing the character of his role. I happen never to have seen him before. Here I give him full marks and wish him well.

For anything like *Cleopatra* the Romans had a phrase: *Urceus Exit.* When a Latin potter moulded and formed a vase it would occasionally turn out no better than a beanpot, and he would remark: *Urceus exit*—it turned out a jug. And with that thought I should like to conclude: *Ave Wanger! Salve Mankiewicz! Vale Liz! Urceus exit!*

# BOOKS IN BRIEF

MRS. G.B.S.: A PORTRAIT, by Janet Dunbar (Harper, $5.95). To know the real man, some suggest a talk with his valet. To get George Bernard Shaw in focus, I recommend reading this book. Its author has spent discriminating hours with the letters and papers left by *Mrs.* Shaw, and what is given us here is a picture of the master propagandist which dissolves the veneer. And she does it by letting her subjects speak for themselves—always a welcome device. They reveal a "Mrs. G.B.S." (Charlotte Payne-Townshend of Irish Protestant gentry) whose enthusiasms invite close reading even before she has met Shaw. But perhaps the most fascinating insights come from the disciplined pen of Beatrice Webb: "Silly, these philanderings of Shaw. He imagines that he gets to know women by making them fall in love with him. . . . But in fact it is not the end he cares for. It is the *process.*" Was Charlotte a "process"? Shaw himself wrote: "I realize that there were many parts of her character that even I did not know, for she poured out her soul to [T. E.] Lawrence."

W. H. VON DREELE

THE DOGMA OF CHRIST AND OTHER ESSAYS ON RELIGION, PSYCHOLOGY AND CULTURE, by Eric Fromm (Holt, $3.95). The long title essay is a translation of a tract, written in the thirties, that re-interpreted the liberal theology of the turn of the century in such a way that Marx's proletariat, suffering Freud's Oedipal drives, produces Harnack's dogmas. Like all servants of a mechanical theory of man, Fromm makes everything fit—except Everything. The Christian belief in a human Son of God is presented as the Hebrews' way of displacing the repressive father-figure of Jehovah. We are told that Christianity was based not on love, but on hatred of Jehovah in all his manifestations—in the Old Law (which Christ observed and described himself as fulfilling); in the Roman rulers (yet Christ was friendly to Roman soldiers, and expressed admiration for a centurian); in tax-gatherers (yet one evangelist was a tax-gatherer, and Christ taught the duty of paying taxes); in Pharisees (yet Nicodemus and Paul came from that sect). Fromm ignores most of the inconvenient evidence, and explains the rest by saying that the Christians' hatred was not expressed in direct revolutionary ways, but in revenge fantasies of a Last Judgment and Heaven where they would triumph over their enemies. Yet such fantasy-satisfactions are rebuked as frequently in the Gospels as is the direct politicizing of the Kingdom (*cf.* Matt. 20.20-8, 24.36 and 42, Mark 10.35-45, 13.32, Luke 10.17-20, 22.24-34). The book makes one feel it would be much more pleasant to live, like the ancient Hebrews, in fear of Jehovah than to be a modern psychologist doing obsessive battle with omnipresent "father-figures."

G. WILLS

THE WATER BEETLE, by Nancy Mitford (Harper, $3.50). If you can afford to take shelter for a few hours from the daily routine and the unremitting intrusions of public affairs, you will find delightful refreshment in this little collection of odd pieces which have happily been rescued from the limbo of journalism. Like the great seventeenth- and eighteenth-century court figures she admires, Miss Mitford cultivates the minor arts of good writing and sharp observation, in an age of leisure which has increasingly little time for them. With the special erudition of the incurable reader of memoirs, she examines modern tourism ("clearly not a desirable human development") and guides us through three charming centuries of *salons* ("the minor arts were cultivated as never before or since, and the art of conversation rose to its zenith"). She even has an explanation for "the young citizens [who] march about and sit down." London is now too ugly to die for.

W. J. FITZPATRICK

I WAS CASTRO'S PRISONER, by John Martino in collaboration with Nathaniel Weyl (Devin-Adair, $4.75). Pan a book in the *New York Times*—as this one was panned—and chances are it's deader than the ashes from Mrs. O'Leary's barn. But this book, a chronicle of the ordeal of an innocent American named John Martino, should endure. Too often we disregard these private accounts of personal agony, preferring to write them off to alarmism, bitterness, or desperation. We should listen to men like John Martino, however depressing and disgusting the narration. If it is true about the obliquity of our embassy in Cuba; if it is true about what Kennedy or Stevenson—or whoever—did concerning those planes at Playa Girón; if it is true about the brutality, the mawkishness, the Communism of the Robin Hood of Sierra Maestra, and of his heavies; if it is true that John Martino survived unutterable atrocities for forty months in Castro's prisons—if all these things are true, assimilate them, and then ask the *New York Times* what Herbert Matthews was doing in Cuba during his stay.

R. D. MACKENZIE

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# To the Editor

***Dos Passos on Lacerda***

Any article by John Dos Passos is a literary event, but his account of Lacerda [July 30] ranks as a particular achievement for being the best short account of recent Brazilian history I have seen. Viva Dos Passos! Viva Lacerda!

*Chicago, Ill.* JOHN A. FLYNN

***Let Us Pray (Privately)***

The cover headline [July 16] blared: "The Supreme Court: Saving Our Children from God." The masthead page trumpeted: ". . . about the Supreme Court's . . . fanatical decision outlawing prayer in the public schools." The din of it was almost too much for me as I picked up my weekly copy of the NATIONAL REVIEW.

As I read Brent Bozell's article, things began to quiet down. What he was trying to say was quite different from the impression I got of the article from the headline and editorial blurb.

The Supreme Court's decision regarding prayer in public schools was not fanatical. The word means: "actuated or characterized by an extreme, unreasoning enthusiasm or zeal." I hardly think that the Justices went at the question with saliva dripping from their trembling chins as they tore religion to shreds. The decision was, rather, unfortunate. It was unfortunate for the reasons which Brent Bozell so aptly documented, in particular the myth that "the Constitution means what the Supreme Court says it means" without regard for the validity of other public authority. The decision itself was a good one and should have come from a lower court in a local situation.

The place where the responsibility for religious teaching falls is on the parents of the children and their chosen church. Why does religion have to be taught in the public schools? Not reading from the Bible and not reciting the Lord's Prayer do *not* interfere with the "free exercise" of religion. Each child is free to worship anywhere he pleases including the public school if he does it privately. The Bible itself admonishes one to pray in private. Not embracing religion in the public schools saves the non-Christian or atheistic child from the censure of his fellows. This alone makes the *decision* worthwhile.

*Chicago, Ill.* BRUCE BUTTERFIELD

The principle of church-and-state separation is a logical bulwark against creeping centralization of power in government; the Supreme Court decision gave many people renewed confidence in our national integrity as well as hope for a less institutionalized, less piosity-pervaded, and more real view of religion.

It was most discouraging when you failed to perceive that the crux of the matter is not one of secularization, but rather of religious independence. A Baptist and a parent, I cannot in obedience to my Lord permit my children to engage in state-enforced prayer and Bible reading. Such training is my responsibility and my privilege, and the state may not intervene in this very personal matter. An ordained minister, I would consider the state's regulation of prayer and Bible reading as a threatening infraction of my family's liberty similar to Communism's restrictions on religious practice and thought. I would consider such regulation a rejection of voluntary means of religious expression initiated by those who fail to recognize the diversity of religious thought in America. This diversity shows itself most meaningfully when two people of similar convictions find they do not have identical relationships with God. I would see in regulatory coercion far more danger than those forces in the economy currently being used to compel conformity to Liberalism.

*Richmond, Va.* LUTHER SMITH

Re state-manufactured (Regents-made) prayers: It is none of the Government's business, and not only in Russia, what we should pray for or what to wish to whom.

*Rotterdam, Holland* S. D. ABRAMOFF

I rarely disagree with any of the positions set forth in your fine magazine but I must say I can neither understand nor sympathize with your unceasing assaults on the Supreme Court's religion decisions.

NATIONAL REVIEW presumably favors the 'absolutist' school of constitutional interpretation, and there are few constitutional prohibitions as absolute as the First Amendment's ban on government action "respecting the establishment of religion."

How, therefore, can you in one breath damn the Federal government for its countless and conspicuous violations of the Constitution and, in the next breath, damn the Supreme Court for striking down State laws which are equally conspicuous violations?

I'm sure it is indeed fruitful for public school students to be offered some added exposure to religion but, as the Constitution clearly states, the government cannot require it. Any law which does require it, therefore,


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Frank S. Meyer, noted author and senior editor of National Review, will accept invitations now to lecture and debate around the country next fall.

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is patently unconstitutional, regardless of the merits of the particular law.

The Supreme Court usually does treat the Constitution more as a political guidebook than as the law of the land, but religion seems to be one area in which the Justices have tried to uphold the principles of that great document, and I think NATIONAL REVIEW is being unfair and inconsistent when it so caustically criticizes them for doing so.

*New York, N.Y.* JAMES B. MARINE

Bozell can be my attorney any day. His review of the Supreme Court was superb. As a member of the D.C. Bar I know of individual feelings of dismay. However, no official word of dissent has been offered by the ABA that I know of. Shouldn't the ABA take up where the AMA left off?

*Sterling, Va.* ROY STRICKLAND

***Dear James Baldwin***

William F. Buckley's column [June 18] entitled "Baldwin's Call to Color Blindness" stimulated me into writing the following "Defense of New York."

*An Open Letter to James Baldwin*

My dear James,

As your old English teacher and literary adviser, I have followed your career with great interest. However, I have been disappointed by your repeated harsh criticisms of New York with nary one good word about us. In *Life* you referred to New York as the "most hostile city I've ever been in." In Sunday's *Tribune* you said, "It's always been difficult for me to write in New York—now, it's impossible. I've always hated this city." In *Harper's* in a letter to your agent, you said "People say 'Where are you from?' And it causes me a tiny and resentful effort to say: 'New York—what did I ever do to deserve so ghastly a birthplace?'"

But I feel your stay at DeWitt Clinton High School from 1938 until 1942 was a happy experience particularly because of your work and contributions to the literary art magazine, the *Magpie*. I find that we published nine of your articles—short stories, essays, a play and poems. You served under Paddy Chayefsky who was editor in 1939, and in 1940, you were appointed a member of the Literary Staff. In 1941, you were promoted to the Editorial Board where you served with the photographer, Richard Avedon, who I recall was a pal of yours. In 1941, you really became the "big wheel"—Editor in Chief!

To prove that we of the faculty recognized and promoted your talent, I quote from character cards which three teachers voluntarily wrote and placed in your file:

Feb. 19, 1941—James Baldwin showed outstanding character in unselfish work as Editor of the *Magpie*. A talented and modest boy, who will surely go far.

MARCELLA WHALEN

May 21, 1941—James Baldwin was outstanding for his modest, unassuming attitude in a class where he was an intellectual giant.

GERTRUDE LAVERY

May 28, 1941—James Baldwin has contributed brilliant articles to the *Magpie* and has also put in many hours of work in reading, suggesting improvements in, and passing judgment on the work of other young writers.

WILMER STONE

Well, I am still adviser to the *Magpie* and still proud of you. In our Anniversary Issue last year, we ran a biography of you entitled "Clinton's Native Son" in which we referred to you as one of Clinton's and the *Magpie's* proud boasts. We have just published the Spring 1963 Issue and its theme is New York. As usual, we were completely unaware of the color or racial backgrounds of our editors who were (to name a few) of Japanese, Negro, Hungarian, Jewish, Irish, Italian and Puerto Rican extractions. The editorial maintained that "the intellectuals — authors, poets, artists, musicians, thinkers—have built New York City into the greatest social complex on earth." And now may I remind you that you, in 1942, interviewed Countee Cullen for the *Magpie*. This is what you reported:

"'Have you found,' I asked, 'that there is much prejudice against the Negro in the literary world?'

"Mr. Cullen shook his head, 'No,' he said, 'in this field, one gets pretty much what he deserves. . . . If you're really something, nothing can hold you back. In the artistic field, society recognizes the Negro as an equal and, in some cases, as a superior member.'"

Come now, Jimmy, New York is not completely hostile!!

*Bronx, N.Y.* MARCELLA WHALEN



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### *Chill North Wind*

Although a Canadian, and thus understandably reluctant to show my face in public right now, I can no longer smother an anguished howl at the vagaries which too often disfigure a sometimes excellent magazine.

Your editorial "The Vote in the South" [June 4] is just too much; it is such a beautiful example of the American conservative dilemma. How can any American decry "the popular mania for the universal franchise" with a straight face? Your Revolution, the ruthless act of dedicated terrorists, had to justify itself on a similar mania—the "sovereignty of the people." Given that abstract doctrine, which Burke, like any intelligent conservative, utterly scorned, how can such equally abstract dogmas as the universal franchise be denied? If "the people" are sovereign, how can one group of them presume to have a voice when another does not?

Quit trying to hide behind the Federalists. They came *after* the Declaration of Independence, and would have been impossible without it. They, and you, cannot shrug off that bitter legacy.

Your ideology is based on a lie. I do not dispute its value; my country may perish for lack of such a convenient fiction. I merely point out that no American can place himself outside that lie. The tragedy of American conservatism lies in its inescapable defense of a Liberal dogma.

*London, Ontario* J. W. DALY
*Department of History*
*Christ the King College*

### *Kidnaped*

In publishing the article "I was kidnaped by de Gaulle" by Colonel Antoine Argoud [July 16], you did a splendid job of reporting to your readers. Whether or not the International Commission of Jurists in Geneva concurs (and I have found this group of late having a tendency to fall flat on its face when an effort requiring force of character is required) your article should constitute permissible evidence in any court of law when de Gaulle is finally brought to trial. The article clearly shows de Gaulle responsible for the subject act which deprecates the dignity of man, the rights of privacy and the sanctity of international boundaries.

*San Luis Obispo, Cal.* J. MANFRINI


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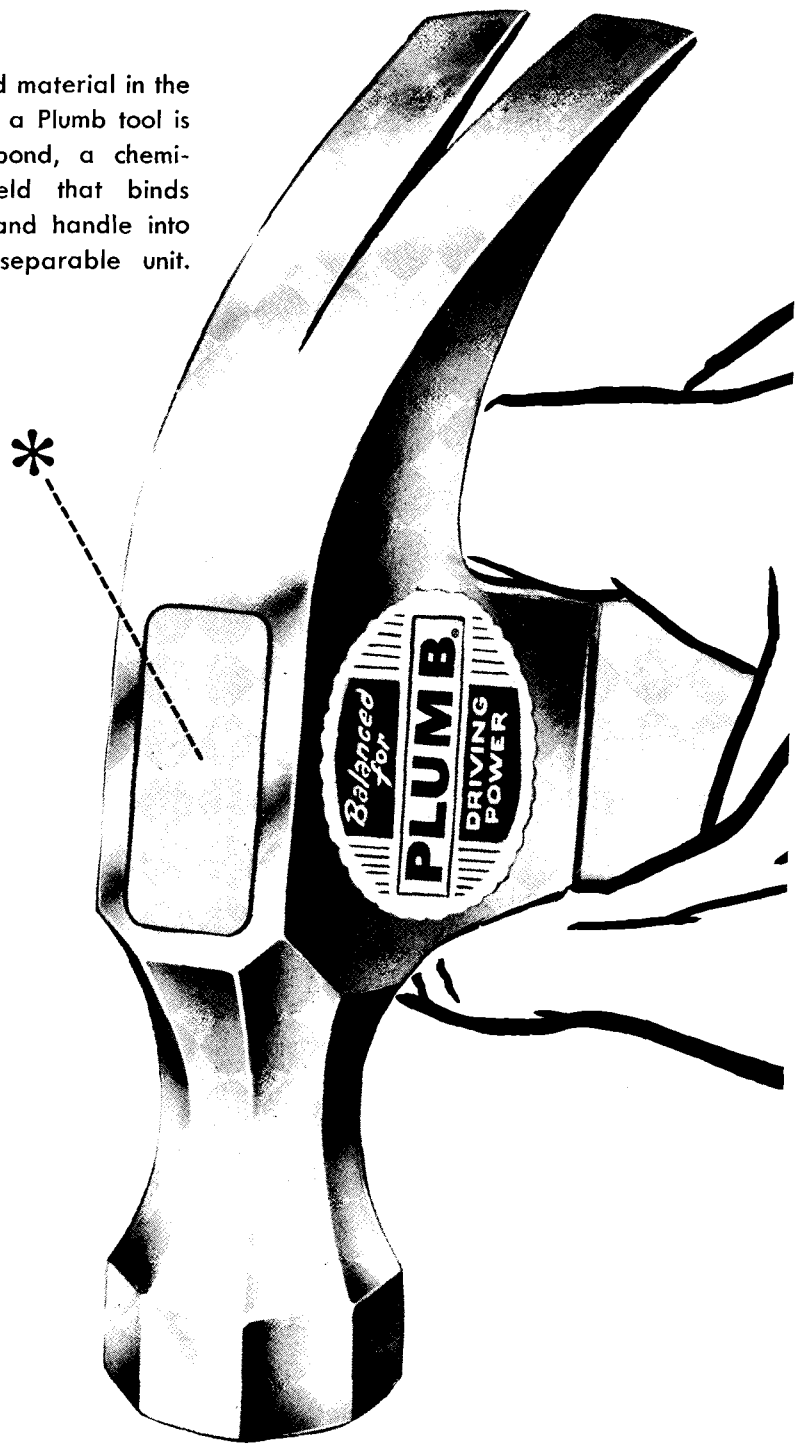


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*Thomas Jefferson*

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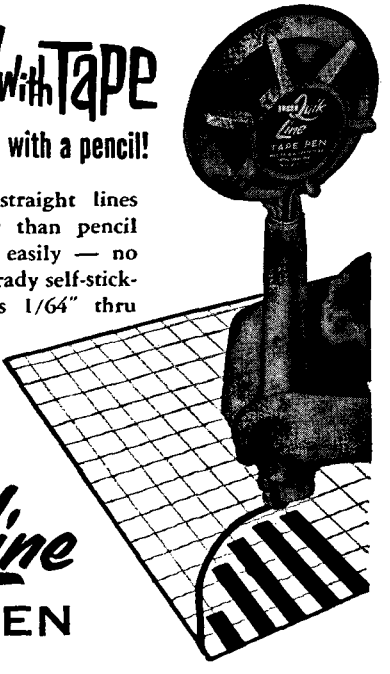

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(Continued from p. 100)

Deckard of Indiana says Nadasdy wrenched Miss Manchester's hand away from the microphone and covered it to prevent her words from being audible. Here, indeed, was the crowning act of "moderation"! It was not until several minutes later, after further delay of the game, that Miss Manchester was able to complete her duties as secretary, and declare that Lukens had been elected. The Liberals and the Rockefeller forces had tried just about everything, and it wasn't enough. There was obviously nothing to do with the people they had failed to intimidate but smear them as "lunatics."

One ironic aspect of the voting, which is also a good measure of who was in fact using "ruthless" tactics at the convention: on the second roll call, a number of votes cast for McDevitt the first time around switched to Lukens. One would imagine that, had the Lukens forces been using "Communist" or "fascist" methods, their iniquities would have lost them some votes. Instead, it was Nadasdy's behavior which alienated people formerly on his side. Significantly, the vote changes came from states like Michigan, Rhode Island and Maine—hardly hotbeds of "right wing extremism." These were not pro-conservative votes, but simply votes in favor of elementary fair play. They were lost to McDevitt because of the performance of his patron in the chair.

In sum, it was obvious to anyone on the scene that there was no "intimidation" being practiced by conservatives; the iron boot was on the other foot. In fact, with the convention machinery so completely in their hands, it is amazing the Nadasdy-New York-McDevitt forces lost. They had come into power only two years before; their organization should have been young, resilient, capable of maintaining its dominant position. And they certainly were not hesitant to make use of the advantages they possessed. But in the decisive hour their strategy sagged and fell apart. Obviously, there was something more happening in San Francisco than the collision of two political organizations. The truth is that the groundswell of conservatism, reflected in the overwhelming preference of the delegates for Senator Goldwater, was simply not to be contained by the techniques of machine politics.



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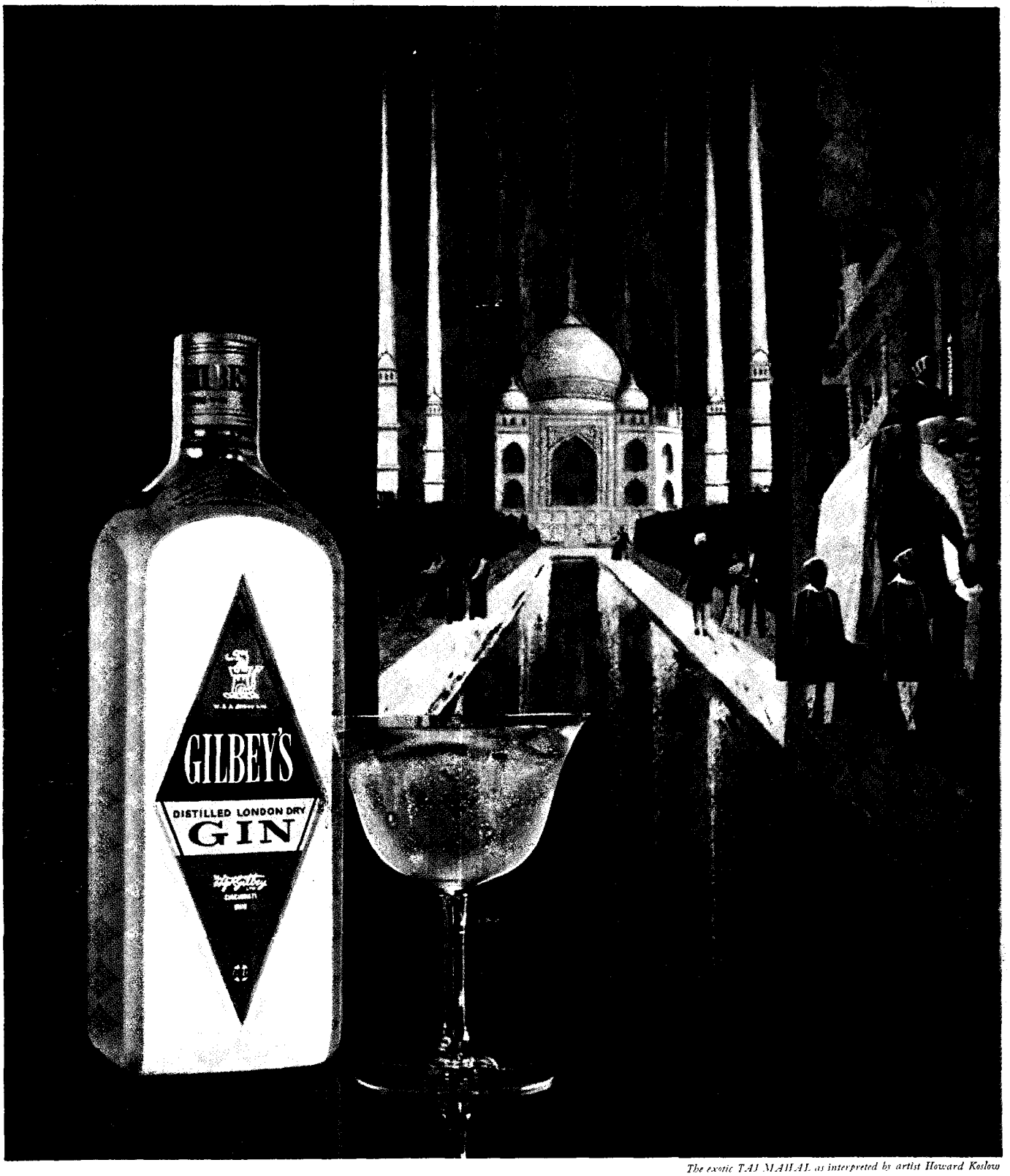
Vodka 80 Proof. Dist. from 100% Grain. Gilbey's Dist. London Dry Gin. 90 Proof. 100% Grain Neutral Spirits. W. & A. Gilbey, Ltd., Cin., O. Distr. by Nat'l Dist. Prod. Co.




*The exotic TAJ MAHAL as interpreted by artist Howard Koslow*

**"The World Agrees on 'Gilbey's, please'!"** because this smooth, dry, flavorful gin makes a world of difference in a drink. Taste why the frosty-bottle gin is a favorite in America and throughout the world. And remember...GILBEY'S is the best name in Gin and Vodka.

# Gilbey's Gin

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